

1-1-1926

Education: The Basis of Democracy

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EDUCATION:

The Basis of Democracy

BY
H. H. CHERRY

PRESIDENT WESTERN STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE
BOWLING GREEN, KENTUCKY

D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY
BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO LONDON
ATLANTA DALLAS SAN FRANCISCO

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

DEDICATED

TO

**THE FORTY-THREE THOUSAND OR MORE STUDENTS
WHO HAVE ATTENDED THE INSTITUTION
OVER WHICH I HAVE PRESIDED
DURING THE PAST THIRTY-
FOUR YEARS.**

If we work upon marble, it will perish; if we work upon brass, time will efface it; if we rear temples, they will crumble into dust; but if we work upon immortal souls, if we imbue them with principles, with the fear of God and love of fellow men, we engrave on those tablets something which brightens all eternity. — DANIEL WEBSTER.

PREFACE

I have been induced to assemble the material in this book by the following resolutions which were passed by the student-body of the Western Kentucky State Teachers College and Normal School at chapel exercises on August 6, 1925:

For thirty years and more students have sat in chapel, first in the old building under the Hill and then in the great chapel on College Heights, listening to a voice that reached to the remotest corners of that great room. Here, so listening, more than forty thousand young men and young women have caught a vision that transformed their lives. Here they heard impassioned appeals for noble living, saw homely pictures of country life painted in unforgettable words, and were dazzled by outbursts of imagination that flamed across the barriers of time and space — all that lifts the spirit above despair and strengthens it for the grim struggle of life.

Of this and more have we for many years been the beneficiaries. Therefore, it has occurred to some of us that President Cherry might be inclined to glean from whatever notes he may have preserved, and from his memory, outstanding passages from these chapel talks, and to put them into some permanent form for the benefit of other generations when his voice shall have been stilled.

And so we, the student-body, in Chapel Hall assembled, join in an earnest appeal to President Cherry that he gather up as far as possible the shining fragments of these past utterances and leave them as a precious legacy to all future sojourners on our beloved hill.

The richest experiences of my life have come to me through the privilege of associating and working with the thousands of young men and women who have attended the institution over which I have presided. This great body of earnest men and women have been a real inspiration in my life and have always been most active, constructive, and sacrificing in their efforts to have a better citizenship through a better education. Modesty has caused me to hesitate to publish the above resolutions, but I am sure the reader will understand that I have embodied them in this preface in order that the public may know the spirit that has controlled me in the preparation of the manuscript.

We hear much about a government that will introduce freedom and opportunity to every citizen in the land, and many programs, platforms, and propositions are presented as though Democracy were a thing to be brought into existence by some magic process, as

though it were a thing to be set up and nailed together like a house. We sometimes forget that our government is a spiritual life — an aggregate human thought that must grow from within, and if we would attain unto a full-grown government, we must attain unto a full-grown citizenship, and if we would attain unto a full-grown citizenship, we must attain unto a full-grown Democracy, and if we would attain unto a full-grown Democracy, we must have an educational program that will reach every home in the land and inspire efficient life in every honorable occupation and endeavor.

The mission of education is to interpret Democracy into life by aiding the people in developing healthy bodies, poised and trained minds, and sound consciences — the hope and future of Democracy. Its mission is to aid the child in making a larger preparation for service and appreciation and to secure more and better training and equipment for life's work. Education should work on the individual, the unit of Democracy, until the ideals of Democracy are expressed in his thoughts, his property, and his conduct. Its purpose is to illuminate the country with intelligence and integrity, with principles and ideals, and with

optimism and good health. "The grandeur of nations is in those qualities which constitute the true greatness of the individual."

These fundamental principles have guided me in the preparation of the subject matter of this book, and have prompted me to put special emphasis upon the obligations and responsibilities of being an American citizen. The following chapters are largely addresses and parts of addresses made at various times before students assembled at the chapel exercises in the institution over which I have presided. They are largely the result of an experience as the executive head of this institution covering a period of thirty-four years. I hope the public will accept the book in the same spirit in which it has been written.

I am greatly indebted to Honorable C. U. McElroy for suggested criticisms and for the generous interest he has manifested in writing the introduction to this book. I am also deeply grateful to Dr. M. A. Leiper, head of the English Department of this institution, who has read the entire manuscript and made many valuable suggestions for its improvement.

H. H. CHERRY

BOWLING GREEN, KENTUCKY.

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FOREWORD

This little volume is unique in the realm of books. As indicated in the preface, and, as is manifested from the text, the book is based largely upon chapel talks delivered by President Cherry from time to time to the students of the State Teachers College and Normal School.

In these plain practical talks he attempted to teach no new philosophy, he endeavored to promulgate no novel theories, and strove for no mere literary display.

Each chapter is, as each talk was, distinct from and unconnected with all others which precede or follow; and yet through them all there runs, as it were, a silken thread connecting each chapter with the other.

Throughout the whole series of chapters is heard an earnest voice trying to reach and stir the voiceless, hoping to receive back an answering echo; and there is felt the endeavors of an earnest soul to get a response from the souls of others. In each talk is recognized a leader with a broad vision endeavoring to help others to catch the vision he himself has seen.

Eminently practical, and adjusting his thought to the capacity and capabilities of his students, President Cherry has sought to impress upon them the necessity of having a sound and properly educated mind in a sound and healthy body; the necessity of building character as the basis of all true life; the necessity of having high ideals and an ever expanding vision; the necessity of self-dependence and self-help, supplemented by a self-sacrifice whenever demanded; the necessity of cultivating the spirit of loyalty to country, purity in politics, and unselfishness in all the affairs of life; the necessity of lofty aspirations and a determination on the part of students to make a great state by making every unit composing the state a self-respecting, useful, and properly educated citizen — all crowned by the necessity of recognizing God as supreme over all, and Christ as the founder of moral law and the founder of Democracy in its broadest sense.

The excellency of this book is found in the lofty spirit which permeates it, the zeal with which the author endeavors to mold the character of the student, to give him high ideals and a broad vision, and to impress upon him the fact that if he fails in his life work and

it is wasted, he suffers as an individual, and the world is that much poorer by reason of his failure and his wasted life; but if he succeeds, whether his occupation be ever so lowly, or ever so exalted, he will be honored by his fellows, and the world will be better for his having lived in it.

True education does not consist alone in mastering science, mathematics, history, language, philosophy, and other subjects supposed to stand for a liberal education; but in addition to these subjects education consists in the possession of certain homely virtues, such as honesty, truthfulness, temperance, righteousness, and benevolence, without which education, however broad may be its scope, may prove a curse rather than a blessing and a hindrance to the attainment of a noble manhood rather than a help.

Doubtless this book will be read by very many of the former students of the State Teachers College and Normal School, and it will pleasantly recall to their memory the chapel talks which very largely gave stability to their character and a right direction to their respective life work.

And doubtless it will also be largely read by the present student-body, who will be

stimulated by its suggestions and helped in their labors by catching the vision of their president, and will live up to the ideals which have inspired his life and made his life work the conspicuous success it is.

Others, not of the student-body, will doubtless be attracted to it as a plea for good citizenship, for moral as well as academic education, for integrity of character, for noble conceptions and high ideals, for a broad philanthropy, for a spirituality instead of mere materialism and as a plea for loyalty to duty, loyalty to our fellow men, and loyalty to a Democracy based on an education which is not confined to mere book knowledge alone.

Except in the methods employed, it may be that in these chapel talks there is little that is new; nevertheless, there is in them nothing that is not both helpful and true.

C. U. McELROY

EDUCATION:
THE BASIS OF DEMOCRACY



CHAPTER I

MIRRORS OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy is a principle which is manifested in the conduct of every unit of an ideal state.

It is "a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaves shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper."

It is a soldier in time of war, or in time of peace, who puts the ideals and principles of freedom above everything, the comfort and prosperity of all of the people above personal comfort and prosperity, and justice above life. In this way he "goes over the top" for home and country.

It is a well-ordered and sweet-spirited home that points every member of the household and every human being to Christ and the flag.

It is a land dotted with good schools taught by consecrated and qualified teachers and crowded by boys and girls preparing for spiritual and intellectual enjoyment and for effective service in the occupations they are to pursue.

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It is a land of Christian ideals, of good churches, and of good roads leading from neighbor to neighbor and from everywhere to the church, the school, and the market.

It is a great hospital that has eyes that see, a heart that feels, and hands that seek the afflicted and the suffering everywhere, and administers to them aiding nature in restoring health, hope, and vitality.

It is a farm with a democratic farmer behind it, where every inch of the soil is fertilized with constructive brains and an expanding conscience. Such a farm will yield an abundant harvest to be transmuted into a larger individual home and community life.

It is a landlord who not only is interested in increasing his own bank account and in adding to his personal holdings, but who sacrificingly aids his tenants in offering an adequate education to their children and in having the comforts of life, a tract of land, and a home of their own.

It is a capitalist who shares the profits of his great industrial enterprise with his country, with his flag, and with those who helped him to make his business a success.

It is a business that treats the employee as a human being and not as a commercial asset,

sharing its prosperity with those who contribute to its success.

It is a land where human work, worth, and service are recognized by society, and where the social and industrial standards are made in the image of justice.

It is a political party whose administration puts public service above personal interest, the country above the party, and the party above jobs, one that has a vision of human needs and a purpose and initiative that will interpret its vision into deeds, and one that has a program of action vitalized through and through with patriotic leadership.

It is a voter who carries his ballot in a democratic conscience when he goes to the voting booth to cast his ballot.

It is a state where honor rules, where moral, intellectual, and industrial initiative is encouraged, and where individuality is enthroned and justice is crowned.

It is you when, in possession of a healthy body, mind, and heart, you travel from the spiritual shallows toward the spiritual blue deep, from the small American effort to the larger American effort — learning, loving, serving, and executing the responsibilities of American citizenship.

CHAPTER II

DEMOCRACY AND WASTE

Democracy is composed of human beings capable of growth or of degeneration, of intelligent patriotism or of anarchy, of good government or of bad government, of waste or of thrift, of physical health or of disease. Every citizen is either pouring the red blood of a larger Democracy into the arteries of a greater community, or he is injuring its health and reducing its vitality. Every human being is either an asset or a liability. It is, therefore, a wise statesmanship that seeks to stop all forms of waste by operating upon the human being, the unit of Democracy.

Most of the leaks through which social and economic waste passes are in the individual, and they will continue to cause endless waste until stopped by a diffusion in the lives of the people of effective power for human work and service in their chosen endeavor. Democracy recognizes this principle of human progress and seeks, through a diffusion of intelligence and Christian integrity, to bring the great mass of people together into a commonwealth of inter-

dependent, associated common life where the poor and the rich receive justice, where the importance of every human being and every honorable endeavor is emphasized, and where all of the people are given an opportunity to enjoy freedom and to be prosperous and happy.

Spiritual unity and magnetic material progress, the dual fundamental necessities of thrift, are poured into democratic communities through the thoughts and character of the people. Reduced to its last analysis, the triumph of Democracy depends upon its ability to increase efficiency and to reduce waste. This can be accomplished through the work of growing citizens who possess productive capacity and moral and intellectual leadership.

If there is a peril that threatens Democracy, it is the peril of waste, the waste that flows from cloudy human visions, low ideals, and penny ideas; the waste that flows from disease, ignorance, and illiteracy; the waste that flows from the home where there is no vision, no library, no parental authority, no Bible, no Christ; the waste that flows from the negative and neglected school and the semi-religious life; the waste that flows from the

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community where public sentiment is asleep and where the lawbreaker and all other enemies to the ideals of freedom live without any fear of being disturbed by a militant public sentiment; the waste that flows from crime, political hatred, the rule of prejudice, and machine politics; the waste that flows from the failure of thousands of its citizens engaged in agricultural pursuits to apply modern methods in their efforts and to give the soil, which is the source of all wealth, scientific cultivation, and treatment; the waste that flows from poor roads, from unproductive, unprofitable, and neglected business, and from thriftless professions.

The development of personal efficiency in the individual is the one great problem before the American people. Add to the right kind of education, and we subtract from spiritual and industrial waste; add to the home, and we subtract from crime, moral desolation, and industrial want; add to the church, and we subtract from sin and from social disorders of all kinds; add to the school, and we subtract from the number of inmates in the jails and penitentiaries, and from the enormous expense paid annually for criminal prosecutions and for the support of human defectives; add to

the number of teachers who are armed with health, intelligence, and character, and we subtract from the number of policemen armed with billets; add to the employer, and we subtract from the difficulties of the employee, from social and industrial inefficiency, and frequently from the hostile attitude of the employee toward his employer; add to the employee, and we subtract from sickness and want and frequently from strikes and labor agitations; add to good roads, and we subtract from isolation, illiteracy, poverty, and crime; add to every effort and agency of life that will aid all of the people in the acquisition of personal efficiency, and we will provide for their needs and enlarge their capacity for enjoyment, and, at the same time, build up the civic, social, and economic life of the community; add to personal efficiency through democratic education, and we will advance the spiritual and material empire; but subtract from education, and we will destroy life and material productivity and bring want and woe to the people.

It is true that Democracy cannot force the citizen to be a success in life, but it can knock at the door of every home in the land and offer the citizen a chance to have more life and more

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of the material blessings of this world. It cannot put bread in all of the hungry mouths, but it can, through a constructive policy, light up human lives, human endeavors, and dark hovels and show the people how they may have more spiritual and material bread and more of the comforts and conveniences of this life. It cannot increase the yield on the farm, but it can offer agricultural instruction and information that will visualize agriculture, teach the farmer how he may increase his yield, and show him that the crops that grow upon his material fields are photographs of the crops that were first grown upon the fields of his soul. It cannot restore life to the loved one who died from a preventable disease, but it can foster good health through the development of a civic patriotism and teach others how they may avoid dying from the same cause.

CHAPTER III

ANGLING IN THE DEEP

A boy used a thread, a minnow hook, and a piece of worm and fished in a minnow hole. This little pool of water was located under the roots of a large sycamore tree which stood by the bank of a creek that had its source in the eternal hills and, after winding down the hill-sides, silently wormed its way to the great sea. If he had fished there all of his life, he would never have caught anything but minnows, because only minnows inhabited that hole of water. If he had not equipped himself with the right kind of fishing tackle and had not gone to the larger waters to cast his line, hook, and bait for larger fish, he would never have known the difference between the feeble tug of a minnow and the exciting, exhilarating pull of a larger fish. He heard a call, however, to leave the minnow hole for the larger waters, the smaller life for the larger life; and in obedience to the law of his own nature and to the voice of his own democratic conscience, he made a trial of his faith in the larger and deeper waters and became a noted fisherman.

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When God created many kinds of anglers and many kinds of waters and filled the waters with many kinds of fish, he prepared the way for human initiative and Democracy. Angling in a Democracy is a universal occupation. It belongs to humanity. It is innate in the human being. Every citizen is without choice an angler. He is catching something, whether he wants to or not.

Launching out into the deep and angling for a larger catch is the nature of the soul. What the soul desires is not a harbor of refuge but the larger freedom, opportunities, adventures, and achievements of the open sea. There is a smaller capacity and a larger capacity, a smaller achievement and a larger achievement, in every democratic occupation and endeavor. The soul inherently desires the larger experience.

The citizen of a Democracy who invests the talents he possesses and uses his opportunities for God and country is a real American angler. If he does this and catches sunfish, he is as good an American as the angler who catches bass and tarpon.

When all things are equal, the angler who catches trout in a mountain stream is a better Christian and a better American than the

angler who catches sunfish in a pond. The real criteria by which one may judge such an individual's achievements are the motives, the talents, the efforts, and the opportunities of the angler.

The more abundant life and the more abundant Democracy, like a sea, lie beyond. Democracy's first duty and necessity is to visualize the future and give the angler an opportunity to equip himself with a fishing tackle that will lure, catch, and hold the gamest fish that inhabits the waters in which he expects to fish.

There are many kinds of anglers, many kinds of waters, and many kinds of fish. The angler may, if he desires, fish in the smaller waters and catch small fish, or he may throw his line in the larger waters and catch large fish. Some anglers are using inadequate equipment and are fishing in stagnant ponds, while others are using the best equipment and are fishing in running rivers and expanding seas. Making this decision is the angler's responsibility. God himself cannot keep him from fishing in small waters and from using inadequate equipment or rotten lines.

A real American is an angler who equips himself with a fishing tackle that has a soul in

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it and, putting boldly out upon the spiritual blue deep, catches fish and has a desire, a purpose, and a will to catch more and larger fish by adding to his fishing equipment. Then he launches farther out, and still farther out into the deep.

If the citizen of a Democracy will permit it and will do his part nobly, the real invisible angler that is frequently sleeping within him will awake and make a real fishing boat. He will weave into the texture of his fishing tackle the weight, the strength, and the pull of the larger fish — the thrills of a more abundant life.

Successful angling must be accomplished through the processes of the soul of the angler. The angler's boat, oars, fishing tackle, bait, lure, and the oarsman are in the angler, and they must be formed and fashioned in his own soul.

The efforts of the angler to make a real fishing tackle becomes a joyous task, a real privilege and inspiration, when he brings the future into the present, visualizes the sea alive with big fish, and lives in a world of imaginative thrills.

When vitalized with progressive objectives and the thrills that come from a vision of the

future, the work of acquiring an education becomes a pleasure. Preparing for a fishing cruise is a drudgery unless we catch fish in the world of self while preparing for the cruise and before going to the larger waters. The boy enjoys digging bait and is not a bad boy when he feels the thrills that come from giving up the feeble tug of the minnow for the thrilling pull of the mountain trout.

The big fish in a Democracy are caught by the angler who follows a vision, the spiritual blueprints and the specifications of his own soul. Nature is the expert angler's laboratory. He knows no inflexible rule. He is guided by the faith and inspiration that comes from the larger education and experience and the magnificence that comes from seeking the unknown. "He who embarks upon the voyage of life," writes Johnson, "will always wish to advance by the impulse of the wind rather than by the strokes of the oar, and many flounder in their passage while they lie waiting for the gale."

The real angler realizes that he can catch and land an eighty-pound fish on a line that would break under a dead weight of eighteen pounds, and he carries with him the sixty-two pounds of extra equipment. This extra equip-

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ment is called many things by many people. We shall for the present call it "that other thing," which is discussed elsewhere in this book.

The contentment of the people with their chosen work depends largely upon intelligent effort and upon a spiritualization of their motives and occupations. Thousands of citizens are changing occupations because they are fishing for small life and do not know it. The angler will unconsciously turn to gloomy anticipation of the future unless his occupation calls him out of himself. "Good actions ennoble us, and we are the sons of our own deeds." In the last analysis, the catch is the angler. He is not likely to desert himself if he sees himself in a large and successful catch. He will not throw down his rod and leave the sea while he has a big fish on the end of the line.

Morality is the nature of successful angling and all other worthy actions. Morality is the essence of launching out and feeling the swells and of meeting the breakers and experiencing the larger life. It is easier for a fisherman who has failed to give himself proper equipment, who fishes in small waters and has small experiences, to lose his mental poise, to be immoral, to commit a crime, than it is for

one who has invested his soul in an adequate fishing equipment and has the larger life and responsibilities. Most of the inmates of the asylums, jails, and penitentiaries angled for small life.

Good health is the nature of successful angling. The average life of the man who fishes on the shoals is less than that of the one who fishes in the deep. Successful angling is a preventive vaccine. It is a tonic in the body. Good health promotes angling, and real angling aids the body in having good health. The angler is not likely to contract a contagious disease or to be consciously sick while landing a big fish. A sick body, a sick soul, and a small fish usually go together.

Influence is largely inherent in personality. The noted fisherman returns from the waters with a great string of fish. His success inspires the people on the beach of life and they decide to go fishing. The multitude will follow the angler who has just returned from the blue deep with a fine string of fish. Socrates wrote: "Let him that would move the world first move himself." Let him that desires a citizenship composed of expert anglers be a real American angler himself.

CHAPTER IV

AMERICA AND CHRISTIANITY

The true cradle of Democracy was the manger at Bethlehem. When the son of the carpenter of Nazareth brought to the world the gospel of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, he ennobled the individual, destroyed the spirit of caste, of autocracy, of education for the few, of rule by force, and made religion, democracy, and education inevitable. He put the spiritual empire of the world above the material empire, made principles and ideals kings and queens, and called upon them to rule the world.

Democracy is an ideal, a vision of the greater life, implanted by God and cultivated by man in the human breast. It has purpose and unity of effort. It has moral, intellectual, and industrial ideals and works to accomplish them. It is affirmative and fearless.

The glory of Democracy is not in its material possessions, but in its ideals; not in its broad acres of land, its banks, railroads, and commerce; not in its capacity to receive, but in its capacity to give and its willingness to

serve humanity. Its magic is a Paul Revere making a midnight ride, awakening the people from their slumber and from a neglect of their opportunities, and prompting them to become responsible citizens, torchbearers scattering the red fire of democratic uplift, freedom, inspiration, and hope in every home in the land.

The mission of Democracy is to put right above wrong, freedom above slavery, ideals above bullets, the education of the child above a dollar, intelligence above ignorance, a good school above a poor school, honest politics above depraved politics, the patriot above the demagogue, the public above a business transaction, and the rule of honor and justice above the rule of force and commercialized government. Its mission is to inspire citizens to noble deeds and to give every person a chance to live, a chance to grow, and an opportunity to be prosperous and happy.

Above the American spirit is the divine spirit. Democracy is not self-evolved. It is not mechanically made and generated by the hands of man. There is above Democracy a God, a divine Pilot, a divine personality, that works through human personalities. There is a God above man and government. "It is

He," writes Dr. E. L. Powell, "who breaks the icy bands of winter and gives to us the verdure and bloom of spring. It is He who quickens the slumbering seed in the cold earth and brings forth the waving harvest. The Lord is his name. If we shall acknowledge His presence in the dewdrop, which is melted by the rising sun, shall we deny that presence in the great soul movements of the race? Is He to be acknowledged as the God of nature and not as well the God of history? It is impossible that we should have a philosophy of history apart from an interpretation of the facts of history in the light of that divine presence which thrust the actors on and off the historic stage. If we shall have any sort of revival, which means the betterment even of a limited and local community, it shall be accomplished and inaugurated through the power of the living God."

God planted the seed of liberty and progress in the soul. Banish Him from our hearts, leave Him out of our laws, programs, and endeavors, and Democracy will fail. There is a divine principle within us that seeks divine efforts, that fixes the mind upon unseen realities, and refines, softens, and ennoble the human soul. Democracy is not the product of

the thought of man. It is not a philosophy. It is a spirit that seeks to interpret the personality of God. "Who laid, broad and deep, the foundations of this republic? Who gave to those mighty men of an older time their hopes and dreams and aspirations? Who implanted in their soul the spirit of liberty? Who led those splendid soldiers out on the battlefield to give their blood for this invisible principle? God."

Real American patriotism receives its inspiration from invisible sources. It seeks guidance at the divine altar. "That patriotism," said Henry Clay in one of his great addresses, "which, catching its inspirations from the immortal God, and leaving at an immeasurable distance all lesser, groveling personal interests and feelings, animates and promotes to deeds of self-sacrifice, of valor, of devotion to death itself — that is public virtue; that is the noblest, sublimest of public virtues."

Dr. J. G. Holland wrote: "When the people of France pulled down both God and the church and set up reason in their place, all of the infernal elements of human nature held their brief, high carnival. That one brief experiment should be enough for a thousand

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worlds through countless years." History from the beginning of civilization to the present time teaches us that "they who plow the sea do not carry the winds in their hands." America is at the wheel, but this alone will not make a safe landing for Democracy, unless God is with the pilot. If we would make the world a decent place in which to live, a garden suitable for the growth of the human spirit, we must hear the voice of the lowly Nazarene in our lives and in things about us and translate its instructions into human deeds.

At the time the Constitutional Convention had worked for four weeks without writing a single line, without having made any visible progress, Benjamin Franklin arose and, addressing George Washington, said: "Mr. President, we have gone back to ancient history for models of government and examined the different forms of those republics which now no longer exist, and we have viewed modern states all around Europe groping in the dark to find political truth. How has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Light to illuminate our understandings? I have lived, sir, a long time; and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this

truth, that God governs the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? 'Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' I firmly believe this, and I also believe that without his compelling aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babylon. We shall be divided by our little, partial, local interests; our project will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a byword down to future ages. And, what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom and leave it to chance, war, conquest. I, therefore, beg leave, sir, to move that hereafter prayers imploring the assistance of heaven and its blessings upon our deliberations be held in the assembly every morning before we proceed to business, and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate at that service."

From this hour progress was made, light shone in, and the Constitution was created. The candle our fathers lighted flung its light into a dark world. God gave us light in order that we might find our way from darkness to

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light, from the smaller life to the larger life. Channing, in one of his addresses, said: "It was religion which, by teaching men their near relation to God, awakened in them the consciousness of their importance as individuals. It was the struggles for religious rights which opened their eyes to all rights. It was resistance to religious usurpation which led men to withstand political oppression. It was religious discussion which roused the minds of all classes to free and vigorous thought. It was religion which armed the martyr and patriot in England against arbitrary power; which braced the spirits of our fathers against the perils of the ocean and wilderness and sent them to found here the freest and most equal state on earth." Political reformers whose lives are not lighted up by the star of Bethlehem are unsafe pilots for the Ship of State.

It is true that this is not a Christian nation in the sense of any definite legal enactment by the people declaring it in sympathy with an established church or by naming any certain creed or doctrine as its belief. But it is Christian in the sense that it is founded upon the principles taught by the founder of all religion. Besides, it has historically developed along these lines. The Mayflower Compact

recited that its colonial standard was "for the glory of God and for the advancement of the Christian faith." The fundamental Orders of Connecticut recited that they were established "to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel and of our Lord Jesus, which we now profess." The majority of our state constitutions, together with the written declarations of personal rights emanating from the hundreds of patriotic associations and conventions held prior to the ordaining of the Constitution, recognized God and declared that all that was done was for His glory. The noble patriots who led in the establishment of our government never failed to ask His guidance in their efforts to perform the duties of any public office or trust imposed upon them. Washington, and all the patriots whose illustrious names sanctify American history, asked God's direction in the convention of independence and upon the battlefield.

All this seems to be a sufficient warrant for calling this country a Christian nation. Our government enforces no religion; it makes no religious demands; but the heart of the nation has recognized Christianity from the beginning of independence down to the present day. "Vindicating the right of individual-

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ity even in religion, and in religion above all, the new nation dares to set the example of accepting, in its relations to God, the principle first divinely ordained in Judea. It left the management of temporal things to the temporal power; but the American Constitution, in harmony with the people of the several states, withheld from the federal government the power to invade the home of reason, the citadel of conscience, the sanctuary of the soul; and not from indifference, but that the infinite spirit of eternal truth might move in its freedom and purity and power."

CHAPTER V

HEALTH, A NECESSITY IN A DEMOCRACY

Christ possessed a perfect physical body. He had perfect health. It is not recorded anywhere that he was ever sick. He had a trained mind that was capable of just judgments and spiritual and intellectual interpretations. He had fellowship with God, and put service and love above everything.

In order for one to be an effective citizen, he must have a strong body for the soul to work in, a trained mind, and what I shall call "that other thing." These are the three big necessities of an effective citizenship, and they should be a part of every educational program and every other effort designed to advance the welfare of the human being.

Horace Mann wrote: "All intelligent thinkers upon the subject now utterly discard and repudiate the idea that reading and writing, with a knowledge of accounts, constitute education. The lowest claim which any intelligent man now prefers in its behalf is that its domain extends over the threefold nature of man; over his body, training it by the sys-

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tematic and intelligent observance of those benign laws which secure health, impart strength, and prolong life; over his intellect, invigorating the mind, replenishing it with knowledge, and cultivating all those tastes which are allied to virtue; and over his moral and religious susceptibilities also, dethroning selfishness, enthroning conscience, leading the affections outwardly in good-will toward man, and upward in gratitude and reverence to God."

Religious, moral, mental, and economic weaknesses are written at the bottom on each page of the history of the governments that have neglected the health of their people. This is no accident; it is the result of a law. Considered in the terms of all the people, no country can rise above the health of her people. A sick citizen may, through the power of the will and a militant investment of all his faculties, succeed in life; but if he should possess a sound body and make the same effort, he would make a far greater success. Not many people are strong enough to carry the load of a sick body and to succeed in spite of physical weakness.

Transfer the health of the average citizen of India to the citizens of America, and there

would be a decline in religious, moral, mental, and economic values. Ideals and property would go down, and woe and poverty would rise. Under these conditions it would be possible for disease to become the ruler of the spirit rather than for the spirit to rule disease, and America would go backward rather than forward. The soul is the overseer of the body, and a state of health depends largely upon how the soul treats the body; yet, when considered in terms of the larger group composing the democratic community, a state of health could exist that might prompt the overseer to spend the balance of his earthly days in a diseased human dungeon without making an effort to improve its condition. "The first wealth," says Emerson, "is health. Sickness is poor-spirited and cannot serve any one; it must husband its resources to live. But health answers its own ends and has to spare; runs over and inundates the neighborhoods and creeks of other men's necessities."

It is easier for a country that has good health to have religion, morality, mental powers, and material possessions than it is for a country whose citizens are sick in body. Good health is the normal nature of the human being. Longfellow said: "If the mind, which

rules the body, ever so far forgets itself as to trample on its slave, the slave is never generous enough to forgive the injury but will rise and smite the oppressor."

Beecher was an earnest champion of good health. He never failed in his public addresses to broadcast a health sentiment. In one of his addresses he said: "Half the spiritual difficulties that men and women suffer arise from a morbid state of health." The physical eye and heart are affected by the spiritual eye and heart. Physical circulation and digestion aid spiritual circulation and digestion. Wholesome material food and health habits are necessary in the work of growing souls and healthy bodies. Sidney Smith wrote: "Old friendships are destroyed by toasted cheese, and hard salted meat has led to suicide. Unpleasant feelings of the body produce correspondent sensations of the mind, and a great scene of wretchedness is sketched out by a morsel of indigestible and misguided food."

It is a high duty of Democracy to disseminate health information among the masses, to build up a good-health sentiment, to protect the people against preventable diseases, and to assist them in having a sanitary body for

their minds to work in. The conservation of health is a spiritual and economic problem that is challenging every citizen of America. The quality of service of a citizen depends not only upon his knowledge and character but upon the condition of his health. Dr. G. Stanley Hall asks the question, "What shall it profit a child if he gain the whole world of knowledge and lose his own health?" The answer is voiced by Dr. Charles W. Eliot: "Universal physical training is the most important and urgent improvement in American education." In 1918 a student of good health wrote: "War has been merely an occasional incident in history compared with the incessant ravages of disease. While war has killed its hundreds of thousands in every generation, disease has destroyed its millions by the year, and its ravages go on perpetually. It is estimated that during the year 1918 the number of people in the world who died from preventable diseases alone reached the astonishing figure of 9,500,000. Preventable diseases are so deadly throughout the world that a nation the size of the United States is actually destroyed every ten years. Such diseases as tuberculosis, typhoid, malaria, hookworm, and other preventable diseases are no longer

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classed merely as diseases. They are social crimes. Death from such causes is manslaughter."

Space will not permit a statement of the cost of the different preventable diseases and deaths, but it has been estimated by good authority that the total loss in the United States alone will exceed \$3,000,000,000 annually. The annual economic loss from preventable diseases and deaths in our working population alone amounts to \$1,800,000,000. There is an experimental basis for the statement that this loss could be materially reduced and leave a balance over and above the cost of prevention of over \$1,000,000,000 per year. In referring to this statement a bulletin published by the National Educational Association in December, 1922, says: "One billion dollars! Almost the total expenditure, state, county, and municipal this year for public school education in the United States. Not only could a physical education program be made to pay its own way, but it would come very near paying for all the teachers' salaries, for all the new buildings and equipment, and for all current expenditures, from anthracite coal to kindergartners' sand, that go to make up the annual budget of American schools."

During the World War 4,650,500 men served in the United States Army, and 1,340,625 were rejected for general military service on account of physical disability. A research bulletin of the National Educational Association says: "Physical incompetence was a far more powerful enemy to our military success in the World War than were the efforts of the opposing army. For every man put out of action by enemy shells, poison gas, and bayonets there were nearly five who never got into action because their physical disability made them unfit for military service. In order to emphasize this statement, it shows that while there were 1,340,625 rejected on account of physical disability, only 50,220 were killed and died from wounds, and 197,950 were wounded in action. Medical men say that most of the defects listed as the causes for rejection during the World War could have been prevented by adequate physical education programs." The Chamber of Commerce of the United States says: "In order to promote the physical well-being of all the people, a proper system of physical examinations and health instruction must be universally carried on in the various grades of the schools. Physical education presents the greatest op-

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portunity the nation has of developing national power. Health instruction is the most vital part of the child's education. When a community makes education compulsory, it becomes responsible for the physical as well as the mental welfare of the child."

Conserving the vitality of the people by stopping the pollution of streams, by observing the sanitary laws of health in the home, in the school, in business enterprise, and elsewhere will contribute not only to the ideals and to the happiness, but to the economic productivity and prosperity of the people. "There is no iron law of mortality." The average life is increased or decreased by observing or neglecting the physical laws of health and sanitation. "Health as a rule is a purchasable commodity, and its price is education." The average yearly death rate per one thousand people from 1815 to 1850 was 28; from 1850 to 1900 it was 26; in 1910 it was 15; and in 1922 it was 11.8. This shows that health education and habits are increasing the lives of the people. Democracy comes very close to us when it reaches its hands out and saves us and our children from sickness and even from the grave. This it can do, does do, and should continue to do in a much larger way.

CHAPTER VI

KNOWLEDGE

Democracy is an ideal that belongs to the universe. It is not limited by land, sea, or space. It has no boundary line or geography. It belongs to civilization. Being of a universal nature, it calls for a leadership that is capable of interpreting its principles and ideals and of applying them to a proper solution of the problems of America and the world.

In order for one to be a real leader in a Democracy, it is necessary for him to have depth of knowledge and information in order to establish unity, liberty, and justice among the people. Daniel Webster said: "Knowledge has in our time triumphed, and is triumphing, over prejudice and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson that being of a different nationality does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not be war. The whole world is becoming a common field for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak in any tongue and the world will hear it."

Even the possession of material wealth depends upon the ability of the soul to use it. One may have a million dollars and still be very poor. He is poor when he is owned by his money. He is rich when he owns his money and uses it for the good of humanity. "Wealth," Ruskin said, "is the possession of the valuable by the valiant." We find the same principle in the life and application of knowledge and learning. Frances Greenwood Peabody wrote: "You do not become a scholar by accumulating information any more than you become rich by accumulating money. Truth needs a soul to interpret it as money needs a soul to use it. A heap of information is no more learning than a heap of money is wealth. A walking encyclopedia is no more a scholar than a portable safe-deposit box is a rich man. A man may be very learned and yet very stupid, just as a man may be very successful in making money and yet be very poor. The world is precious as it is owned by the soul."

Knowledge may not be even a contribution to a Democracy. It could be a liability rather than an asset. "Knowledge," Bacon said, "is not a couch whereon to rest a searching spirit; or a terrace for a wandering mind to

walk upon with a fair prospect; or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon; or a sort of commanding ground for strife and contention; or a shop for profit and sale, but a rich store house for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate."

History shows that the world has not advanced beyond a leadership that possessed democratized knowledge. Organized information with the flag of Democracy in its hand has been the pioneer in most of the worthy human achievements. Democracy moves upward when knowledge and wisdom move upward. There is no higher form of American patriotism than seeking fundamental knowledge in order to use it to advance the principles and ideals of social and economic freedom. Knowledge that is not on fire is an intellectual degenerate. Inactive ignorance is a conspirator. Ignorance that is on fire is a mob with a torch in its hand. Knowledge on fire is the ideal American.

There is a patriotism of scholarship, of organized information and service, that calls upon every citizen to know and to disseminate the truth. No man is a patriot if he chooses ignorance and inefficiency when he could be intelligent and efficient; if he thinks in the

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terms of a limited and selfish neighborhood when he could think in the terms of Democracy.

There are citizens who minimize the importance of knowledge and of higher education, because they fail to understand its fundamental place in their own lives and in Democracy, and because they happen to know some one who had knowledge but did not have the power to interpret it into life. They do not know the difference between academic paralysis and real education and Democracy. Daniel Webster said: "Knowledge does not comprise all which is contained in the large term of education. The feelings are to be disciplined; the passions are to be restrained; true and worthy motives are to be inspired; a profound religious feeling is to be instilled, and pure morality inculcated under all circumstances. All this is comprised in education." Knowledge alone is not sufficient. It takes knowledge and goodness to advance Democracy. It takes information and wisdom to make a democratic program. It takes a thought with the experiences of the world in it to make an American leader. "We must not think," said Dr. Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University, "of the liberal education

of to-day as dealing with a dead past, with dead languages, buried peoples, and exploded philosophies; on the contrary, everything which universities now teach is quick with life and capable of application to modern uses. They teach indeed the languages and literature of Judea, Greece, and Rome; but it is because those literatures are instinct with eternal life. They teach mathematics, but it is mathematics mostly created within the lifetime of the older men here present. In teaching English, French, and German, they are teaching the modern vehicles of all learning just what Latin was in mediæval times. As to history, political science, and natural science, the subjects themselves and all the methods by which they are taught may properly be said to be new within a century. Liberal education is not to be justly regarded as something dry, withered, and effete; it is as full of sap as the cedars of Lebanon."

I know a citizen who is always criticizing higher education. "He thinks he is intelligent, when, in fact, he is ignorant. He fancies himself enlightened because he sees the deficiencies of others; he is ignorant, because he has never reflected on his own." He lives in a dark house but thinks it is light. He uses a grease

lamp but thinks it is an arc light. He prefers ignorance because he has never experienced the joys and illuminations of a higher education. He speaks frequently of a few great citizens who did not have a college education, who achieved great successes in the fields of leadership, overlooking the fact that these citizens as a rule inherited great talents and were highly educated through self-efforts. Fisher Ames writes: "To be the favorite of an ignorant multitude, a man must descend to their level; he must desire what they desire and detest all they do not approve; he must yield to their prejudices and substitute them for principles. Instead of enlightening their errors he must adopt them and must furnish the sophistry that will propagate and define them."

It is true there can be no absolute rules laid down which will insure success, but the history of American men and women shows beyond doubt the value of higher education. Out of 22,075 men and women in America listed in the 1922-23 *Who's Who in America*, who have rendered valuable service to their country, 77 out of every 100 attended college, and 64 out of every 100 graduated from college. A careful study made by George P. Hambrecht and

J. G. Childs, of Wisconsin University, gives the following typical results: One person without an education in 161,290, one with an eighth-grade education in 40,841, one with a high-school education in 1,606, and one with a college education in 173, have a chance of achieving distinction. This shows that a man with a college education has more than 900 times the chance of achieving distinction than has the man without an education. A record of employees kept over a period of ten years by one of the electric companies of this country shows that 90 men with college education out of every 100 succeeded, while 90 out of every 100 without college education failed.

The United States Bureau of Education points out that although less than 1 per cent of all Americans are college graduates, this 1 per cent has furnished 55 per cent of the presidents, 36 per cent of the members of Congress, 47 per cent of the speakers of the House, 54 per cent of the vice presidents, 62 per cent of the secretaries of state, 50 per cent of the secretaries of the treasury, 67 per cent of the attorneys-general, and 69 per cent of the justices of the Supreme Court. As the Bureau figures it, the college man's chances for eminence are 370 to 1 against the non-college man.

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Even more surprising is its showing that 277 times as many college men had amassed wealth as had non-college men.

Thirty-three of those patriots whose names appear on that immortal instrument of freedom — the Declaration of Independence — were college graduates. Two had had training under private tutors, two were college men whose records fell short of graduation, fifteen had no college training, and of fourteen no records are available. Eighteen of the thirty-four who signed the American constitution were college graduates.

True education has ever pointed the way toward Democracy and toward the emancipation of men's souls and minds.

CHAPTER VII

"THAT OTHER THING"

A man may be a physical giant and still be a human pygmy. He may be highly trained, one of the intellectuals, and still be a cunning scoundrel, a murderer of civilization. It takes more than a healthy body, more than formal education, more than degrees from higher institutions of learning, more than material success to make an American. There are men who have red corpuscles in their blood, libraries in their brains, and millions of dollars in banks who are failures because they do not have "that other thing."

I do not know what "that other thing" is except that it is an intangible spiritual force that largely determines every human success, establishes commercial credit, stabilizes business, and guarantees the perpetuity of free government. It is the invisible equipment and universal surety of the human being. It is the vision, faith, and push in the acorn that produces the oak. It is the invisible equipment which the expert fisherman carries with him that enables him to land an eighty-pound fish

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on a line that would break under a dead weight of eighteen pounds. It is integrity, industry, initiative, concentration, and all other spiritual forces working together in the spirit of unity for a square deal for every human being, whether he lives on the hill or in the valley, in a hut or in a mansion, and whether he possesses a penny or a million.

It is "that other thing" which caused Napoleon to say: "All of the scholastic scaffolding falls, as a ruined edifice, before one single word, faith." It caused Bulwer to write: "Strike from mankind the principles of faith, and men would have no more history than a flock of sheep." Plutarch had it in mind when he wrote: "A city may as well be built in the air as a commonwealth or a kingdom to be either constituted or preserved without the support of religion." Carlyle showed its influence in saying: "It seems to me a great truth that human things cannot stand on selfishness, mechanical utilities, economics, and law courts; that if there be not a religious element in the relations of men, such relations are miserable and doomed to ruin." It caused Lowell to write: "Our healing is not in the storm or in the whirlwind; it is not in monarchies or in aristocracies; but it will be revealed by the

still small voice that speaks to the conscience and the heart, prompting us to wider and wiser humanity." John Higginson, because of its influence, said in one of his great addresses: "Fathers, brethren, this one thing must not be forgotten: that New England originally was a plantation of religion, not a plantation of trade."

"My boy, give good measure." These are the words of a noble father when he spoke to his boy who had gathered a load of apples and was ready to start to market to sell them. He took a half-bushel pail and, filling it to the rim, told the boy that was not good measure. He put on apples until they were above the rim and rolled off, at the same time admonishing the boy to give that kind of measure. "That other thing" is the thing above the rim. It is the plus of the soul. It is the plus in democratic education and in Democracy. It is the plus in the life of every great teacher. It is the spirit of good measure and a square deal that holds the civic, social, and industrial world together and gives every human being a chance to live, a chance to grow, and an opportunity to enjoy the blessings of life. It makes the home, builds and maintains the church, supports the schools, establishes li-

braries, endows hospitals, feeds the hungry, and promotes every effort that advances humanity.

It gave us America and Columbus, the Mayflower and the Pilgrims, Valley Forge and Washington, the Declaration of Independence and Jefferson, and the National Constitution and our forefathers. It prompted Paul Revere to make his midnight ride; it caused Putnam to leave his horse and plow in the field and go to the battlefield in defense of principles and ideals. It controlled Lincoln when he issued the Emancipation Proclamation; Roosevelt when he demanded civic, social, and industrial righteousness and spiritual affirmation; Wilson when he accepted the challenge of tyranny and autocracy and gave us the League of Nations at the cost of his life. It prompted four millions of our men to respond to the call of their country, not because they were individuals, but because they were Americans; not because they loved money and self, but because they lived "above the rim," believed in a square deal, and were willing to give their lives for principles and ideals.

At the meeting of the American Bar Association in San Francisco in August, 1922, a committee on American Citizenship submitted

a report, the result of painstaking investigation, wherein the following significant passages occurred: “There is but one remedy for our national ills — education. Knowledge and inspiration are essential to citizenship. The schools of America must save America.” “But we must not be content with merely imparting knowledge. American citizenship should mean patriotism, and patriotism is not of the intellect alone; it is very largely of the spirit and of the heart. It cannot be taught by merely imparting information. It cannot be taught by a mere discussion of principles. Religion is of the spirit; so is patriotism.” “In teaching citizenship, the real essential is ‘atmosphere.’ An appeal must be made to the heart, to the spirit, and to the emotions, as well as to the intellect. America should no more consider graduating a student who lacks faith in our government than a school of theology should consider graduating a minister who lacks faith in God.”

The larger democratic community must be accomplished through the larger education, and the larger education must be accomplished through the larger Democracy. Education and Democracy are “members one of another,” inevitably and inextricably bound to-

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gether. The first duty of Democracy and its first necessity are to provide for training which will safeguard the health, guarantee the intelligence, and promote the integrity of its citizens. It will take a full-grown Democracy to make a full-grown education, and a full-grown education to make a full-grown Democracy. It will take a full-grown citizen to make a full-grown government, and a full-grown education to make a full-grown citizen.

Education to the informed and real American is a conviction, a duty, a responsibility, and a program of patriotic deeds. He realizes that when education is down, the citizen is down; that when the citizen is down, the flag is down; and that when the flag is down, everything is down, and hope and freedom are gone.

We have two classes of illiterates in this country. We have the illiterate who cannot read and write, and we have what I shall call the spiritual illiterate, who has intellectual training, who may hold degrees from higher institutions of learning, but who does not live "above the rim." I had rather the government were under the leadership of dishonest illiterates who cannot read and write than under the leadership of spiritual illiterates. A dishonest illiterate who cannot read and

write is a citizen who is armed with a dangerous gun, who uses defective ammunition, and who is a poor marksman. A spiritual illiterate is a citizen who is armed with a dangerous gun, who uses effective ammunition, and who is a good marksman. An illiterate who cannot read and write but who has “that other thing” is, in the sense I speak, a patriot. The spiritual illiterate is a slacker if not a genuine traitor. A citizen who has a sound body for the soul to work in, a trained mind, and “that other thing” is a real American.

There is more danger in not having enough life “above the rim” than in not having enough formal education. I do not believe that this country is in need of a larger intelligence so much as it is in need of a larger integrity; it is not in need of a larger ability so much as it is in need of a larger dependability. What we need is a civic, social, and industrial leadership that lives and operates “above the rim.” What we need is a leadership that will put the spiritual above the material, the ideal above the dollar, clean politics above depraved politics, the country above political parties, and political parties above barter, trade, and commerce.

In the number of illiterates in this land; in a lack of leadership in civic, social, and industrial life; and in crime and a lack of respect for constituted authority we see a challenge to the churches, the schools, the libraries, and all other efforts organized in the interest of human advancement.

There is a challenge in the estimate made by fidelity and surety company officials which shows that the total annual losses in this country from financial crimes alone amount to the total of three billion dollars, a sum comparable to the value of the entire annual imports of the nation. The survey made by the committee on affairs of the American Institute of Accountants shows that losses amounting to \$1,600,000,000 of the above amount are as follows: losses from embezzlements and forgeries, \$200,000,000; losses from credit frauds, \$400,000,000; and losses from stock frauds, \$1,000,000,000. These losses do not include the losses caused by personal violence and crime. These stupendous financial losses are caused largely by spiritual illiteracy, by the failure of trusted citizens and others to live, to transact business, and to keep books and do other things "above the rim." It seems to me that these and other statistics justify us

in believing that all educational institutions should, either through an atmosphere or through formal programs, give more emphasis to the importance of growing a citizenship that will have dependable life.

We may have preventive measures for detecting frauds, such as automatic internal checking systems, professional audits, an earnest prosecution of the criminal offender, better salaries, division of work, monthly trial balances, and larger and stronger vaults; but all of these measures and all other similar measures, while necessary, will fail unless the trusted citizen has the invisible equipment and spiritual surety I have been talking about.

Too many people are looking for good government to come from without rather than from within; from the courthouse rather than from an affirmative patriotic people; from organized government; and from books of statutes rather than from a life that is "above the rim." Courthouses, organized government, and even books of statutes are dead influences and institutions unless the life behind them is a living thing.

CHAPTER VIII

THE UNIT OF DEMOCRACY

Man is the fundamental unit of progress. Noble life sheds noble life, vision transmutes vision, and ideals create ideals. We teach and influence the world largely by living within, by making our life one of noble deeds. Living a life is nature's laboratory for the training of citizens and for the growing of the larger Democracy. A great influence is largely personal. Great teaching begins in the house occupied by our own soul.

We should stop losing so much time and wasting so much money in trying to set in order our neighbor's household before we have put our own household in order, and we should spend more time at the anvil of our individual lives, hammering and forging a life that will have human beauty, attractiveness, and influence. The saved will save, and life will teach without individual conventionality. Long ago the world would have experienced a new birth, a moral, intellectual, and industrial regeneration, if all of the people who have been trying to save the world had been

saved themselves. "The first great gift we can bestow on others is a good example." "One watch set right will do to set many by; one that goes wrong may be the means of misleading a whole neighborhood; and the same may be said of example."

There is no objection to our conscious influence on others, to a deliberate effort to reform, unless it takes on the nature of mechanical efforts, of posing, for example, or of a self-conscious influence. The world never respects a mechanical reformer, a moral mentor, but it will unconsciously follow in the tracks of a great, warm, aggressive personality whose life draws but does not drive. "A lighthouse sounds no drum, it beats no gong; yet far over the waters its friendly light is seen by the mariner." If you would advance Democracy, advance yourself. The big thing in life and in a Democracy is you.

"Go make thy garden fair as thou canst,
Thou workest not alone;
For he whose plot is next to thine
Will note and mend his own."

Let your influence alone. It will be exactly what you are. Let your garden be the mirror in which you see yourself. It will not hurt you if you go before this mirror each morn-

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ing and see yourself. If you do not appear well and healthy when you look into this mirror, you had better look after your spiritual and physical health. If you are interested in the results of your efforts, make the tomato you grew in the garden a looking-glass, in order that you may see your accomplishments. If you are dissatisfied with the nubbin ears of corn you grow in your garden, and you are inclined to blame the world for the existence of nubbins, it would be wise and patriotic on your part to make the nubbin a mirror that will show your own life.

At any rate, see to it that the niche in human society made by God for you is filled by you. It is interesting to notice how many of us treat our lives as we sometimes treat a gun: load it once or twice a year and then point it into space, pull the trigger, and make a strange noise but get no game. We sometimes are so superficial that we even fire a paper wad from our little human popguns with a hope that we may in this way save a dear and dying world.

We will never have the greater community until every citizen leaves his neighbor alone for a while, goes to work on himself, and gives to this country one great life and one noble

endeavor; until a father's leadership and devotion, a mother's love and service, and Christian ideals and parental authority prevail in every home; until the members of every church practice the religion they profess, in and out of the church, and in private and public life; until teachers and pupils of every school make the school a community life where industrial progress and moral and intellectual individualities flourish; until all the people get away from the rule of selfishness and bigotry, from hatred and envy, and in the spirit of unity and coöperation work together for a greater community.

A man purchased three acres of land located on the bank of a beautiful river. It was a rough and unsightly spot. The underbrush was cleared away, the briar thickets were cut, and the sink holes were filled. Trees and projecting surface stones were left, and bluegrass was planted. It became at once an attractive place for a modest home. An inexpensive little bungalow was built on the bluff overlooking the river and was painted red. The posts used in fencing the place were sharpened at the top and were also painted red. One morning when he was down on the public highway that passed by the

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side of his bungalow, he was greeted by a man who lived in that section. Now this man also had about finished a bungalow, and during the conversation he remarked that he was going to paint his bungalow red also if there were no objections.

A little later, while he was passing through the suburban section of his native city, he came across another man who was building a fence around his home, and in a conversation he said: "There is a fellow down here on the bank of the river who sharpened his posts at the top and painted them red, and I am going to sharpen my posts at the top and paint them red."

If you want your neighbor to paint his bungalow red, paint your bungalow red. If you want him to sharpen his posts at the top and paint them red, sharpen your posts at the top and paint them red. If you want him to plant a tree or a vine, plant a tree or vine yourself. If you want him to be a model farmer, be a model farmer yourself. If you would give your community a vision, an ideal, a purpose, a life, you must have a vision, an ideal, a purpose, and a life. You must live in such a way that your influence will, without your knowledge, "shake the country for ten

miles around." The successful leader realizes that the expert angler keeps out of sight.

The external and visible community will stand still and not expand until the spiritual and invisible community has been realized within the human heart. When people, during these days of democratic reform, are looking for and seeking a better community, they are likely to look from without rather than from within for community resurrection and regeneration. We too frequently fail to understand that the democratic community cannot be realized until it has worked as a leaven, frequently and silently penetrating from the motives and ideals of the few into the lives of the many.

An ideal community cannot be made from artificial devices and the efforts of outward leaven, but it must expand and grow from the leaven of individual personality and leadership. One great citizen who lives in the spiritual skies, but who, at the same time, keeps his feet on earth, uses common sense, and does his work nobly, will leaven a whole community. The history of every great movement, of every successful neighborhood, of every democratic community, state, and nation can be summed up in a few names.

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All agree that influence and waste, whether personal or institutional, are largely inherent in personality, and that the greatest thing in human endeavor is a properly educated human being. It sometimes seems that we are trying to win a battle at Valley Forge without a Washington; trying to write a Declaration of Independence without a Jefferson; trying to meet the enemies of freedom without a Foch; trying to interpret Democracy without a Wilson; trying to have a church without a preacher, a school without a teacher, a farm without a farmer, a good horseshoe without an honest blacksmith; trying to light up Democracy without having light in our own souls. Our country cannot be illuminated with tallow candle and grease lamp personalities. It takes the arc-light of a great soul to advance religion, education, and Democracy.

CHAPTER IX

PATRIOTISM

Every human achievement in the outward world is a mirror that shows us a picture of the intelligence, integrity, and industry of man. We see the qualities of the angler in his catch. We see the qualities of the patriotism of the soldier on the battlefield, of the homemaker in the home, of the minister in the church, of the teacher in the school, of the doctor in his practice, of the poet in the poem, of the farmer in the crop, of the blacksmith in the horseshoe. Likewise we see the patriotism of all other human beings in their achievements, whether they be engaged in their chosen work in time of peace or on the battlefield in time of war.

Patriotism is not unhorsed sentimentality, but it is a principle, a divine and human fundamental. It is not a frenzied spirit that has lost its moorings on the sea of life, but it is a constructive, intelligent soul that is guided by a high sense of justice. It is not a hollow voice that speaks without a conscience, but a conviction, a depth of life that is prompted

by the spirit of love and service. It is not a blind and insincere reformer who selfishly holds up before the people the ideals of a Democracy at a time when he has a flag in one hand and a debauched ballot in the other. It is not an office seeker who is willing to be a victim of a system of depraved politics in order that he may get the spoils of an office or manage a depraved political machine, but it is the character that is strong, decent, and fearless, who puts the welfare of the people above self.

The real flag of a Democracy cannot be seen with the physical eye. It is a spiritual, invisible, vitalized, human personality. We are not discounting a sacred approach to the material flag, the emblem of liberty that unfurls its sacred folds before us, or a proper appreciation of it, but we are emphasizing that the roots of pure and undefiled patriotism run deep into the laws of the spirit and into personal conduct. The visible American flag may be floating before us out in the open world and yet be down in the invisible world of our own soul.

The patriotic father who earnestly and patiently hammers thought and conscience into his chosen endeavor and causes the red blood

of American life to permeate it through and through; the noble mother who loves home, works for physical and spiritual sanitation in the home, and points all the members of her well-ordered and sweet-spirited household to Christ and the flag; the son who feels the responsibility of citizenship and, with God in his heart and with his eye on a high purpose, labors for the accomplishment of his purposes; the daughter who values woman's influence and opportunities in a Democracy and gives her country the more abundant life; and the other person, whoever he may be or whatever honorable endeavor he may follow, who realizes that the strength of a Democracy is in the unity, virtue, and justice of her people and then gives his country one great life and one noble endeavor — these are the soldiers of America who defend this land of liberty, "the land where our fathers died, the land of the pilgrims' pride, and the land of the noble free." These are the real patriots who bear "Old Glory" to victory, whether they be in the army or in the navy, on the land or on the sea, in private or in public life.

The unit of a Democracy is the human being. If the citizen occupies the hilltops of his own life, the flag will have a commanding

position on the hilltops of American life. Make your chosen work, however humble, radiant and redolent with high and beautiful life, and you will be one of Democracy's heroes, a soldier of high rank who bears the flag at the head of the army of progress. It takes sterling character to support and perpetuate liberty, to make "freedom ring," to love with nature's devotion our "rocks and rills." Make the people free, and our land will be bright with "freedom's holy light."

The flag has been raised to the airs of patriotic music in many places and in many political conventions where the corruptionist muddled the fountains of justice, where the grafters befouled the sources of law, where the demagogues stabbed civic virtue, and where greed and selfishness ruled. Anchoring "Old Glory" to every steeple in the land and enacting laws requiring that it be placed over every schoolhouse will not go far toward the development of civic character unless we carry it in our hearts, and unless the school is a Democracy and supports it in its course of study and on the playground and defends its honor in its daily conduct. Randall J. Condon, superintendent of schools, Cincinnati, writes: "My flag — born in the days of

revolution — baptized in the days of civil strife, re-dedicated to the cause of human freedom in the great world conflict; in peace and war it has ever floated as the symbol of liberty and justice. May its stars never grow dim and its stripes never fade. And may the children in the schools over which it shall float be taught to love justice, to hate evil, and to do good, that they may forever protect the flag and the ideals for which it stands.”

The following short address was delivered by Franklin Knight Lane, Secretary of the Interior in President Wilson’s Cabinet, before the employees of the Department of the Interior in Washington, D. C., on Flag Day, 1914:

This morning, as I passed into the Land Office, the Flag dropped me a most cordial salutation, and from its rippling folds I heard it say: “Good morning, Mr. Flag Maker.”

“I beg your pardon, Old Glory,” I said, “aren’t you mistaken? I am not the President of the United States, nor a member of Congress, nor even a general in the army. I am only a government clerk.”

“I greet you again, Mr. Flag Maker,” replied the gay voice; “I know you well. You are the man who worked in the swelter of yesterday straightening out the tangle of the farmer’s homestead in Idaho, or perhaps you found the mistake in that Indian contract in Oklahoma, or helped to clear the patent for the hopeful in-

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ventor in New York, or pushed the opening of that new ditch in Colorado, or made that mine in Illinois more safe, or brought relief to the old soldier in Wyoming. No matter; whichever one of these beneficent individuals you may happen to be, I give you greeting, Mr. Flag Maker." I was about to pass on, when the Flag stopped me with these words:

"Yesterday the President spoke a word that made happier the future of ten million peons in Mexico; but that act looms no larger on the flag than the struggle which the boy in Georgia is making to win the Corn Club prize this summer.

"Yesterday the Congress spoke a word which will open the door of Alaska; but a mother in Michigan worked from sunrise until far into the night, to give her boy an education. She, too, is making the flag.

"Yesterday we made a new law to prevent financial panics, and yesterday, maybe, a school teacher in Ohio taught his first letters to a boy who will one day write a song that will give cheer to the millions of our race. We are all making the flag."

"But," I said impatiently, "these people were only working!"

Then came a great shout from the Flag:

"The work that we do is the making of the flag.

"I am not the flag; not at all. I am but its shadow.

"I am whatever you make me, nothing more.

"I am your belief in yourself, your dream of what a people may become.

"I live a changing life, a life of moods and passions, of heartbreaks and tired muscles.

"Sometimes I am strong with pride, when men do an honest work, fitting the rails together truly.

"Sometimes I am loud, garish, and full of that ego that blasts judgment.

"But, always, I am all that you hope to be and have the courage to try for.

"I am song and fear, struggle and panic, and ennobling hope.

"I am the day's work of the weakest man, and the largest dream of the most daring.

"I am the Constitution and the courts, statutes and the statute-makers, soldier and dreadnaught, drayman and street sweep, cook, counselor, and clerk.

"I am the battle of yesterday, and the mistake of tomorrow.

"I am the mystery of the men who do without knowing why.

"I am the clutch of an idea, and the reasoned purpose of resolution.

"I am no more than what you believe me to be, and I am all that you believe I can be.

"I am what you make me, nothing more.

"I swing before your eyes as a bright gleam of color, a symbol of yourself, the pictured suggestion of that big thing which makes this nation. My stars and my stripes are your dream and your labors. They are bright with cheer, brilliant with courage, firm with faith, because you have made them so out of your hearts. For you are the makers of the flag, and it is well that you glory in the making."

Invisible Democracy, the protector of every home and the champion of social and industrial freedom, has won great victories for

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human rights. We will not be loyal to our flag; we will not be true to the memory of our noble men who gave their lives for the ideals of freedom; we will not honor the high purpose of the four million Americans who responded to the call of our country; we will not sanctify the glorious efforts of our nation to defend human rights, if we fail to vindicate in thought, in church, in school, in conduct, in private, and in public life the ideals for which we have fought and sacrificed.

CHAPTER X

OCCUPATION AND ENDEAVORS

Honorable occupation in a Democracy will rise as high as the citizen in it. A small citizen in a so-called high occupation makes a small occupation, and a strong and constructive citizen in a so-called small occupation makes a large occupation. Even the size of a farm does not depend upon the number of acres in it so much as it does upon the size of the farmer. The farmer who has fifty acres of land may have a larger farm when measured in the size and quality of the crop, and a higher life when the test is made in the soul, than the farmer who has five hundred acres of land. The size of the farm and the crop depends upon the size of the farmer. When reduced to its last analysis, the farm is the farmer. What is true with farming is true with other occupations.

Aristocracy in a Democracy is character and service. On an intellectual and spiritual basis, Democracy reduces all honorable human endeavors to an equality and makes a blacksmith who puts democratic ideas and service

into his horseshoe and into his workmanship a greater citizen than a governor of a commonwealth whose acts are prompted by low and base motives. J. G. Holland, the eminent author, wrote: "No work that God sets a man to do — no work to which God has especially adapted a man's power — can properly be called either menial or mean. The man who blacks your boots and blacks them well, and who engages in that variety of labor because he can do it better than he can do anything else, may have, if he chooses, just as sound and true manhood as you have, not only after he gets through the work of his life, but now, with your boots in one hand and your shilling in the other."

No normal citizen can have pleasure in pursuing an occupation which he regards as mechanical, as a dead thing, and as of little importance to the world. Every citizen must feel that he is engaged in a noble work, or else he is not likely to render an efficient service and be interested in his occupation. In order to develop a democratic citizenship that is strong in interest and purpose, it is necessary to get the citizen to understand that the product of his thought and labor reflects his vision and the character and the nature of his work

and citizenship. The thrill and the interest of life depend not only upon interpreting into deeds the opportunities offered by our occupation but upon seeing ourselves and our service to society in the product of our labor.

The citizen who makes a plow will have a growing interest in his efforts when he understands the importance and the mission of a plow in the work of developing society; and a teacher who stimulates through his influence and teaching the growth of a better citizen will glory in his achievements when he understands the organic need of a good citizen in a Democracy.

The farmer sells his farm and buys a livery stable, a store, or a boarding-house; the boy leaves the farm and takes a clerkship in the city; the daughter gives up her country home and seeks employment in the nearest village; the teacher gives up teaching for law; the merchant sells his stock of goods and engages in the insurance business; the others are restless and discontented and are changing their occupations, largely because they are unconsciously fishing in a minnow hole, and, unfortunately for them and for Democracy, most of them do not know they are.

The dignity of labor, the earning capacity

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of the people, and their contentment with their chosen work depends largely upon intelligent effort and a spiritualization of their endeavors. The fisherman will not throw down his rod and leave the sea while he has a big fish on the end of his line. The boy will not leave the farm, and the citizen will not leave his chosen work when their occupations become to them a sea alive with fish, and when they feel the thrills that come from the better health and the larger intelligence and integrity. "The fountain of contentment," wrote Johnson, "must spring up in the mind; and he who has so little knowledge of human nature as to seek happiness by changing anything but his own disposition will waste his life in fruitless efforts and multiply the griefs which he proposes to remove."

It is natural for a citizen to grow restless and discontented and to seek other employment, if he regards farming or some other occupation as a dead and uninteresting thing, if he fails to interpret and use its opportunities, or if he never has an interest or an education that stopped at a superficial preparation, an impoverished agriculture, or a nubbin ear of corn. It is hard for a fisherman to have contentment and faith when he realizes that he

has a big fish on a rotten line. When we succeed in vitalizing the endeavors of life through a system of education founded upon the social and economic needs of all the people, we will succeed in a large measure in developing a larger efficiency, contentment, and happiness among the people and in influencing them to dedicate their lives to their chosen work.

A citizen of humble surroundings and of splendid native ability came to my home early one beautiful morning to sell some products he had grown upon his small but fertile farm, which I am told was mortgaged. His unkempt team, his rickety old wagon, and the impoverished agricultural products he had grown were photographs of the vision, intelligence, and efforts of the man. Everything indicated that he did not read, think, or plan. Life evidently to him was a dead routine. As soon as I saw his products in his wagon, I knew he was fishing in a minnow hole. I had just finished reading an interesting article in an agricultural journal upon corn culture. In a conversation with him I asked if he had read the article. He replied: "I do not take any agricultural journals or any other paper and do not read because I do not have time to read." I went back to my study and wrote

the following: "Every citizen in a Democracy who does not read because he does not have time to read must be shown that the reason he does not have time to read is because he does not read."

The citizen was depending entirely upon his muscles and physical endurance for a physical living. His whole purpose was to make a living and not a life, and, as a result, he was not succeeding in doing either. His hands toiled while his mind slept. He had physical strength and endurance but was without vision, ideals, and education. It had not occurred to him that the small, knotty potatoes in his wagon were good photographs of his ideals. He had not realized that every great crop that grows upon the material fields is first grown upon the fields of the soul. It was difficult for him to believe that reading, thinking, and planning had anything to do with agriculture. It was hard for him to understand how thought had anything to do with the nubbins ears of corn that were growing on his farm.

When I told him that, all things being equal, the citizen that grows big ears of corn has more religion and is a better American than the citizen who grows nubbins, and that by

“all things being equal” I meant an equal chance in talents, opportunities, soil, climate, and all other things, including the motives that enter into democratic efforts, he told me that I was a Godless man, and that he would not give his religion for all of the corn in America. Want and poverty were stepping upon his heels and kept him so busy making something to eat and to wear for himself and family that he really believed that he did not have time to read and think. The length of time between his meals instead of freeing him enslaved him. To him the length of a day extended from the awakening from sleep in the morning to the return to sleep at night. It was measured on the dial of the clock. Ignorance never has time to read. It is almost always hungry and in a hurry. No day is long enough for it to make a living or to live a life. Confucius said: “Ignorance is the night of the mind, but a night without moon or stars.”

Democracy realizes that accurate thinking and moral conduct are fundamental necessities to human progress. The average citizen does not need another dollar in his pocket so much as he needs correct business and Christian ideals in his soul. He does not need a doc-

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tor so much as he needs ideals of health and sanitation. He does not need pills and medicine so much as he needs soap and water and health ideals. Even the pauper, as a rule, does not need a loaf of bread so much as he needs the capacity to make a loaf of bread and to know the law of the loaves and fishes. The farmer does not need to have the mortgage on his place paid off so much as he needs the capacity and the opportunity to pay off the mortgage himself.

There are many people who work too hard with their hands rather than not hard enough. Many, like horses that work at the sorghum mill, make physical circles around their occupations. Occupation to them is a dead thing, and life is a routine, a drudgery, a physical circle, a minnow hole instead of a big ocean. Endless grind and physical circles in occupations have made for many people premature graves and have sent thousands to the asylums and penitentiaries. We can never achieve the larger Democracy until occupation is spiritualized, until it is vitalized with health, thought, and conscience, and with the thrills that come from launching out into the deep and feeling the swells of the larger life. It is easier for a people who dabble in the shoals

to lose their health, their mental poise, their integrity, and their interest in their occupations than it is for a people who have the larger experiences.

CHAPTER XI

DEMOCRACY'S GROWTH

Democratic states are not made according to blueprints. It would be interesting to watch a horticulturist in an effort to force the growth of an apple tree and of apples according to blueprints and specifications. We cannot force healthy branches to appear at certain points on the tree, or specific kinds of apples of various colors and sizes on certain twigs. When it comes to growth, nature has its own way, and it is the best way. We can aid growth by beginning with a healthy tree, by fertilizing and cultivating the soil, by letting in sunlight, air, and rain, by destroying parasites, by treating diseases that weaken and destroy vitality, and by doing other things; but we cannot control growth or change the nature of the tree. We may, through a grafting process, change form and increase variety, but we cannot force the growth of an apple. It would be as easy to take some wood and tools and paint and make a real apple as it would be to make an ideal or a Democracy. Both must be grown.

In this age, when reform seems to have become a profession, when the whole world seems to be trying to save somebody else, when people are too frequently looking to laws and to bureaus and commissions of reform for improved government, it would be well for us to keep in mind that the thing we must do is to interpret life and to translate it into programs of democratic action rather than to follow blueprints and dead specifications prepared by superficial minds in the interest of a speedy millennium. "The biggest problem," says Henry Suzzallo, president of the University of Washington, "that America has to solve is that of equalizing the opportunities of life through giving every child a chance to grow in power as he ought while personal powers are still flexible. Our current wild faith in legislation as a cure-all for human failures, both individual and collective, is pathetic to the man who knows that America is a Democracy of souls, a coöperation of free citizens who must be trained to develop and give their best. To attend thoughtfully to education is to attack the American problem at the roots instead of at the branches and leaves. I hold no brief for the perfection of education as it has been or is; merely for the

right use of educational means adjusted to our national purpose. Without the educational system that we have had, imperfect as it has been, we should long ago have been saddened with the social and political chaos it has prevented." The only thing we can do is to plant the tree of civilization by the rivers of the more abundant education and then to cultivate the soil and assist its growth.

A democratic government cannot overtake itself. It is always beyond. "We are never present with but always beyond ourselves. Fear, desire, and hope are still pushing us on toward the future." A perfect government, however, will never exist between earth and heaven. It might exist if a growing soul could overtake its ideal, but this has never happened. If it should happen, growth would cease and death would begin. "The higher duty of government," says Dr. David Starr Jordan, "is to keep the road unobstructed so that each man can make his own way for himself."

Premature growth produces premature fruit. Governmental laws, commissions, and bureaus with unnatural and artificial missions, enacted and established in the interest of quick reform, produce poor government rather

than good government. The real statesman is more interested in the kind of fruit Democracy will produce in the future than he is in the kind of fruit it produces tomorrow.

John Milton, the great thinker and poet, in speaking of the personal freedom of man, said: "Real and substantial freedom proceeds from within and not from without and depends not upon the terror of the sword but on sobriety of conduct and integrity of life. Such liberty is the fruit of justice, of temperance, and of unadulterated virtue and cannot be taken away by treachery or intimidation. Unless the horizon of the mind is cleared of the mist of superstition which arises from ignorance, you will always have those who will bend your necks to the yoke as if you were brutes; who will put you up to the highest bidder as if you were booty made in war, and will find an exuberant source of wealth in your ignorance and superstition. You, therefore, who wish to be free, cease to be fools, and learn to be wise."

The freedom of the soul is the foundation upon which our government is built. Being founded upon freedom, it must, in the very nature of things, restrain and limit those things that grow out of the abuses of free-

dom. Gentz wrote: "Two principles govern the moral and intellectual world. One is perpetual progress; the other the necessary limitations to that progress. If the former alone prevailed, there would be nothing steadfast and durable on earth, and the whole of social life would be the sport of winds and waves. If the latter had exclusive sway, or even if it obtained a mischievous preponderancy, everything would petrify or rot. The best ages of the world are those in which these two principles are the most equally balanced. In such ages every enlightened man ought to adopt both principles and with one hand develop what he can, with the other restrain and uphold what he ought."

We must not forget that any government which takes over the responsibility that inherently belongs to the people and does the things for the people which they should do for themselves, making them "nothing when they should be everything," destroys Democracy's civic training school and cuts off the currents of initiative. Plato wrote: "The less fitted a people to govern themselves, the greater their need of self-government."

We cannot force the larger democratic community through a quill, a dogma, a super-

ficial enthusiasm, a human machine, a reformer's device, or even through a community program, a state legislature, or a National Congress. We cannot dream the larger democratic community into existence. It must be achieved through the influence of the home, the church, the school, the library, better agriculture, good roads, clean politics, a larger civic vision and patriotism, and every other outward and inward democratic influence and agency of life that approaches the individual, awakens the soul, stimulates self-discovery, and prompts human efficiency.

The democratic community expands and grows from within and not from without; its leaves are spiritual thought and service. It may be stimulated by outside influences, from the front porches of men who do not live in the community, but, in the end, the community must grow from within; it must have its own leaven, its own self-control, its own self-reliance, and its own community atmosphere, character, capacity, leadership, and responsibility. The boat, the oars, the fishing tackle, the bait, the lure, and the oarsmen are in the soul. Dr. E. M. Burritt, of Cornell University says: "There exists in every community the forces and the ability to solve that

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community's problems. They may be and frequently are undeveloped, but they are none the less there. These forces may be sought out, stimulated, trained, and developed and then applied to problems of the community."

CHAPTER XII

INDIVIDUALITY AND IDEAS

Man inherits initiative. He is by nature a pioneer. He is a fisherman in new waters. He is himself the one great method for the development of social and industrial efficiency. "Each mind," wrote Emerson, "hath its own method. A true man never acquires after college rules. What you have yourself aggregated in a natural manner surprises and delights when it is produced. We cannot oversee each other's secret." The integrity of individuality and sincere, original, independent ideas must be preserved in the lives of the people, or we shall experience a gloomy failure in the work of developing and perpetuating Democracy. "The greatest thing in the world," said Montaigne, "is for a man to know that he is his own."

The hope of our country is in a people who read, think, and serve; who preserve the right to take the initiative for themselves; and who challenge the right of any man or organization to do their thinking and voting for them. When God opened space and threw millions

of worlds into it, He made no two alike. When He swung into existence a young Democracy, He made no two of its human beings the same. In fact, He made us different and gave us different missions to perform in order that we might have a great country. He did more than this: He made it impossible for the niche intended for one human being to be filled by another. "Every human being," wrote Channing, "has a work to carry on within, duties to perform abroad, influences to exert which are peculiarly his and which no conscience but his own can teach." It has been ordained by nature that there shall be a multiplicity of individualities and ideas in order to secure the highest development of justice and progress in society.

Men of strong individuality always have a strong personal influence, while men of weak individuality never exercise a commanding influence on others. The citizen who stereotypes his life, who refuses to have an open mind, and who is ruled by prejudice, is a dangerous influence in a free country. Society, if it would succeed in its efforts to grow a worthy citizenship and a good government, must avoid all kinds of influences and stereotyped systems that minimize initiative and serious and in-

dependent thought. Emerson, the eminent philosopher whose writings have done so much for the edification of man, gave us the following lines: "Let us affront and reprimand the smooth mediocrity and squalid contentment of the times and hurl in the face of custom and trade and office the fact which is the upshot of all history: that there is a great responsible Thinker and Actor moving wherever moves a man; that a true man belongs to no other time or place, but is the center of things. Where he is, there is nature. He measures you and all men and all events. You are constrained to accept his standard. Ordinarily everybody in society reminds us of something else or of some other person. Character, reality, reminds you of nothing else. It takes place on the whole creation. The man must be so much that he must make all circumstances indifferent, put all means into the shade. This all great men are and do."

Our efforts must be vitalized by ideas from nature's laboratory before we can become effective anglers in a Democracy. We can make bullets in a mold, but we cannot make ideas in that way. I know a family of nine boys all of whom belong to the same church and the same political party as their parents.

It is doubtful whether the boys really had much to do with their choice. Most of us are members of the different churches, of different political parties, and of other organizations, and most of us believe in certain sects and principles for the same reason that a bullet is a bullet. We are treated in the same way that I treated a bar of lead when I was a boy. After putting the lead into a spoon, I put the spoon on hot coals, melted the lead, poured it into bullet molds, and made bullets. In the midst of varied reforms there is some danger of trying to make citizens as I made bullets. Americans are grown in the spiritual nurseries of Democracy, not made like material articles in a commercial manufactory.

There is no music so sweet in a Democracy as the singing of a spinning idea as it passes through the universe; no chorus like the rattle of spiritual artillery; no solo that equals the boom of a moral Gatling gun; no fleet so strong and stately as a fleet of white ideas sailing the sea of life. In one of his great addresses Beecher said: "Ideas are cosmopolitan. They have the liberty of the world. You have no right to take the sword and cross the bounds of other nations and enforce on them laws or institutions they are unwilling

to receive. But there is no limit to the sphere of ideas. Your thoughts and feelings — the whole world lies open to them, and you have the right to send them into any latitude, and to give them sweep around the earth, to the mind of every human being.”

Battles between individualities and duels between ideals are the natural products of affirmative man and of democratic governments. There is but one thing that can vanquish an idea, and that is a superior idea. There is but one thing that can put the pond out of business, and that is the sea. There is but one thing that can vanquish the Southern King, and that is the Tarpon. There is but one thing that is better than America, and that is a superior America.

The citizen who creates a superior idea to become a relentless foe to a prevailing and accepted inferior idea is a patriot who plants the flag on the hills of liberty. An unsound idea may become in our government a more formidable foe than an invading army. A great idea in time of peace may be worth far more to the country than a bullet in time of war. Democracy invites patriotic discussions, a contest between ideas. The citizen who preserves his health and his individuality, who

hears and obeys the voice of an educated conscience, and grows and goes behind a conscientious life is a patriot who fights the battles of the flag and marches at the head of the army of progress, whether he is a Methodist or a Baptist, a member of the Democratic or Republican party or of any other organization.

The schools of a Democracy should be human nurseries where ideas grow and individualities flourish; schools that look with disfavor upon any tendency to be stereotyped by officials at the cost of originality or upon a tendency to dissipate the power of initiative and the sense of responsibility in the life of the child; schools that will develop a reading, thinking, working, serving people who preserve their individuality and who think and act for themselves and challenge the right of any man to intrude upon their inalienable rights to take the initiative in endeavors.

CHAPTER XIII

PUBLIC OPINION AND LAWS

No Democracy can last without unseen government, without the invisible winds, and without the silent rule of human lives. The democratic principles and ideals that rule in the citadel of the soul cannot be fully expressed in written laws and political platforms; neither can they be effectively transmitted to the lives of the people through laws made by partisan legislatures. Yet they are the invisible influences that largely make and govern every free country. There is no greater work that can be done than the crystallizing of human ideals and noble desires that are frequently silent and passive into a positive public sentiment that will force higher standards in private and public conduct and in all of the departments of human endeavor. "Private opinion," said Beecher, "is weak, but public opinion is almost omnipotent. A single snowflake — who cares for that? But a whole day of snowflakes, drifting over everything, obliterating landmarks, and gathering

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on the mountains to crash in avalanches — who does not care for that?”

The larger Democracy must be accomplished by recognizing the unwritten law of public opinion as the most powerful social and economic force in a Democracy. Growing citizens for service in a Democracy is best accomplished through a militant public sentiment that enforces the right and challenges the wrong, and through a system of democratic education that will influence the people and make them responsible for the ideals of the country.

We need a public sentiment that will have enough democratic life in it to consume any man who would debauch the ideals of a free people; a public sentiment that will be a spiritual “atmosphere” to the citizen who loves and defends home and country and a flame of fire to the selfish citizen who would put his own interest above the interest of his people; a public sentiment that will unify the people and eliminate any partisan and class feeling that separates them from making their interest a common interest; a public sentiment that will proclaim to the world that America is a land of optimism, of opportunity, of law and order, unfit for dead men and law-

breakers, and suitable only for live and righteous men.

Senator Hoar, in speaking of political corruption, said: "The citizen who would corrupt a great state to get an office must be made to feel that his success will bring with it neither joy nor honor. Let public scorn blast him; let him be avoided as one with a leprosy. We shall not, probably, revive the ignominious punishments of the past, but if they are ever revived, let him be their first victim. The whipping post, the branding on the forehead, the cropping of the ears, the scourging at the cart's tail, are like punishments for the rich man who would debauch a state with an honorable history, or a young and pure state in the beginning of its history. If we cannot apply them literally and physically, let the aroused public sentiment of his countrymen pillory and brand and scourge the infamous offender. Leave him to his infamy. Let him be an outcast from the companionship of free men. Give him a cloak to hide him in and leave him alone with his shame and sin."

Democratic governments are not, as a rule, in need of more laws so much as they are in need of more men who respect and obey the

law, men who are straight, decent, and fearless; men who study public issues and have independent opinions, promote public discussions, and take an active interest in their government; men who do right without having a law flashed in their faces. The country is full of undesirable citizens who seem to think they are Americans, but who are frequently in word and conduct lawbreakers that trample law under their feet until they reach the door of the criminal's cell and then mechanically obey the law in order to stay out of the penitentiary. Not more laws, but more respect for authorized law, and more positive and efficient support in the enforcement of laws already made, is our greatest need. This must be accomplished largely through education.

Henry Suzzallo, president of the University of Washington, writes: "How else than through education can millions of men be given a common understanding, aspiration, and will, which together make the life of the republic a true, free, and effective coöperation. Our Constitution and our statutes, however they have been wrought out of the vital experiences and the travailed thinking of previous generations, are merely laws

written on paper. They are not vital and enforceable until they are written into the souls of men and women, becoming an habitual as well as a thoughtful and feeling expression of the vast majority of citizens. In the formal political sense, our laws have to be enacted only once; but in the deepest psychological sense, they have to be reenacted every generation. Indeed, one might almost say that each law has to be reenacted for each individual, in the sense that it must be woven into his respect, reverence, understanding, and will. This is clearly a process of education. Government by popular sovereignty is a simple and glorious aspiration but a complicated and laborious task involving much preparation of mind and character. Successful schooling is worth all it costs and may be worth much more than we are willing to pay, just because it is the safest and surest way of achieving the kind of lawful and orderly co-operations which are essential to the progress and happiness of free men and women. The American kind of government scarcely seems workable or preservable without widespread education."

Obedying the law is only a part of the duty of the citizen. He must use every influence

he has to see that the law is enforced. Believing it to be an unjust law does not excuse him. General Grant never said a wiser thing than when he declared: "The best way to treat a bad law is to enforce it strictly, and then its odious features would soon arrest attention and a considerate judgment of the majority repeal it." Lincoln, in speaking of reverence for the law, gave us the following words of wisdom: "Let reverence of the law be breathed by every mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap. Let it be taught in schools, seminaries, and colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpits and proclaimed in legislative halls and enforced in courts of justice; in short, let it become the political religion of the nation."

The noblest law known in the experience of man will die in the hands of a people who will not execute it. It will be a civic tragedy that will destroy respect for law and lower the standards of the people. Democracy never intended that there should be such a thing as a homeless law. But there will be homeless laws unless they are founded upon the fundamentals of the National Constitution and upon the inalienable rights of the people, and unless

they are of form and character that will prompt the soul to open the door to its house and invite them in. There are thousands of laws on the books of statutes that were not made in the image of justice and for this reason are silently refused admittance to the home of the soul. A law not made in the image of justice and founded upon the principles of the Constitution is a nursery of anarchy. Just laws supported by a militant public sentiment will save the people from much distress and suffering, reduce the enormous expense of criminal prosecutions to a minimum, create a respect for the dignity of the law, and make the people safer and happier in their homes. The most powerful force in a Democracy is the unwritten law of public opinion.

CHAPTER XIV

POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties are the natural products of government by public opinion. Garfield said: "Real political issues cannot be manufactured by the leaders of parties and cannot be evaded by them. They declare themselves and come out of the depths of that deep which we call public opinion." Political parties are necessary to our form of government and should be the cleanest and most patriotic organizations in our land. Without political organizations through which to express the public will and choice, it would be almost impossible in a Democracy to promote effectively public issues that concern the welfare of the country, to register the conclusions of the people, and to place responsibility for the administration of government. Mr. James Bryce, in speaking of party organizations, said: "But the spirit and force of party have in America been as essential to the action of the machinery of government as steam is to the locomotive engine; or, to vary the simile, party associa-

tion and organization are to the organs of government almost what the motor nerves are to the muscles, sinews, and bones of the human body — they transmit the motive power and determine the direction in which the organs act.”

Two or more political parties in a democratic nation are necessities in the work of growing and maintaining good government. The two great contending political parties in this country serve as checks on each other and guarantee a higher order of civic life than we would have with only one party. A political party which sincerely and wisely champions principles and ideals that are superior to the principles and ideals championed by a contesting party is entitled to the support of the people, whether it is the Democratic, Republican, or some other party.

No political party, however, is entitled to the suffrage of a free people unless it has a vision of human needs and a purpose to interpret its vision into life, and unless it has a program of action vitalized through and through with the spirit of service and of constructive leadership. No party deserves support unless it is conceived in the soul of justice and fashioned and formed into a militant

patriotic life, in order that the people might have life and have it more abundantly.

This makes the mission of the party as high as human life itself; not higher than the ideals of Democracy, but higher than machine politics, and higher than the political jockey alley, where the sacred offices of the people too frequently have been bartered as you would a bunch of bleating sheep. Lincoln wrote: "If ever this free people, if this government itself is ever utterly demoralized, it will come from the incessant human wriggle and struggle for office." The larger Democracy is calling upon us to drive invisible political Kaiserism from this land of ours and to do for the autocratic manipulator of the job-clearing house what Democracy has done for the military groups that have ruled most of the world in the past.

When managed in the interest of the public welfare, party organizations will, without political mechanics, without invisible party politics, without depraved political machines, without large campaign funds, pour the red blood of democratic government and progress into the arteries of the country through efficient leadership and through party loyalty.

Influence in party organization is largely

inherent in personality. The greatest asset in party organization is a great citizen in a public office—a Washington, a Jefferson, a Roosevelt, a Lincoln, or a Wilson in the President's chair. The currents of the higher civic life will flow through the arteries of the nation when the currents of an inspired and high civic life flow through the personality of party leadership. The people of America have visions of a larger life because many of her great leaders had visions of new fields of service, and in the spirit of love and self-sacrifice toiled unceasingly and most effectively for the accomplishment of the American vision and for the rule of justice. Their constructive brains, Christian hearts, and patriotic leadership are Democracy's greatest asset. Only citizens of intelligence and integrity who love justice and right, and who have a deep concern about the condition of every human being, are capable of leadership in a great political party. No party can render real service unless it is free from secret and selfish control and malarial influences of all kinds. Party leadership is more important than party platforms.

Budget T. Hayes, in his *American Democracy*, says: "Political parties have had a great influence on the development of the govern-

ment of the people. They have both helped and hindered. While they have been a powerful means of educating the people in the practice of carrying on government, they have also sometimes retarded progress. Thousands of voters have been party men, pure and simple; they were born Democrats or Republicans, and they died Democrats or Republicans, bequeathing their political faith to their sons. Measures proposed by one party, no matter how commendable, are generally opposed and frequently defeated by the other party, with seeming disregard for the welfare of the country as a whole. The candidates for office set up by either party have been savagely reviled by the members of the other, and vital issues are often clouded by prejudice and party feeling.

“On the whole, however, political parties have done much toward the development of political Democracy. In the heat and conflict of debate new and better ideas spring into life. The great questions which are to be decided are advertised, and, in the long run, measures that are for the common good are agreed to by the majority of the people and made the law of the land.”

Making the party a powerful factor in pro-

viding the needs of all the people is the only thing that can justify its existence, that can be worthy of the support of the people, and that can secure an enduring and healthy party loyalty. If the people knew what is going on in the dark rooms of party control, they would correct the wrong. Instead of leaving the management of their party in the hands of a small group of uncertain men who frequently put jobs above ideals, they would exercise the high duty of taking charge of their own party and seeing that it was conducted in the interest of the people. The time is here when the real American puts his country above his party and his party above a job or commercialized politics. This is the new political morality which will control in the future.

CHAPTER XV

THE BALLOT BOX

The sooner every citizen of America understands that there is a patriotism of the ballot box, that every individual has, without any choice on his part, inherited civic affirmation and responsibility, and that it is his duty to exercise his right of suffrage, the sooner we will have better government. No man, no woman has the right not to participate in the administration of his government through a patriotic use of the ballot.

The greater Democracy will demand an election day that will be the most sacred and commanding event in the life of the community, the state, and the nation; an election that will have civic responsibility and enough patriotism, intelligence, and leadership to interpret the principles and the ideals of freedom into deeds; an election that will prompt the people to regard the privilege of voting — and of voting right at any cost — as a sacred obligation they owe their country; an election that will challenge the patriotism of any man who refuses to respond to the call of his country

at the ballot box on election day and to cast a ballot that has an American conscience in it; an election that will purify the fountains of justice and drive the desecrator of the purity of the ballot, the civic loafer and floater, from the land, destroy the political manipulator and boss, break the unscrupulous machine, which is the most undemocratic thing on earth, into a thousand pieces, and put the control of the political party into the hands of the people of the party where it belongs and where it must remain, if we are to have good government; an election that will cause every citizen to realize that there is a battle line at the ballot box as well as on the battlefield.

Notwithstanding the fact that American patriotism is positive and must be willing to suffer, sacrifice, and work in the affirmative, there has grown up in this country a strange citizen who seems to think he is a patriot, and that the only way to be a real patriot is to avoid taking an interest in the administration of his government. This citizen usually means well. He is inherently loyal, and when his patriotism is aroused, he will always do the right things. Unfortunately for him and for his country, however, he most often fails to interpret the spirit of America. "Some have

said," wrote Cato, "that it is not the business of private men to meddle with government — a bold and dishonest saying, which is fit to come from no mouth but that of a tyrant or a slave. To say that private men have nothing to do with government is to say that private men have nothing to do with their own happiness or misery; that people ought not to concern themselves whether they be naked or clothed, fed or starved, deceived or instructed, protected or destroyed."

Many citizens will tell you that government is in the hands of the wicked, and that no good citizen can afford to take an interest in politics or offer himself for public office. The greatest citizen in this land is scarcely good enough to merit the privilege of living, working, and voting in the fields of freedom. Democracy inherently demands progress through vitalized leadership, honesty, intelligence, and patriotic voting. Too good! Who said so? That undesirable and possibly that most dangerous of citizens who stands in Democracy's house and without protest permits the civic incendiary to apply the torch that may consume the house of liberty. Too good! Who said so? Not Washington, not Jefferson, not Lincoln, not Wilson, but that

citizen with a faint heart and cloudy patriotism who grumbles about bad government and who stays at home on election day and sells his vote to himself by doing a day's work in his own endeavor. In a Democracy civic neglect is a crime, and a lazy public conscience is a peril. "To let politics," wrote Howard Crosby, "become a cesspool, and then avoid it because it is a cesspool, is a double crime. No man should be a partisan in the sense of one who votes for his party, right or wrong."

There is no higher duty in a Democracy than a zealous participation of its citizenship in the affairs of the government. If there is one peril that threatens our country more than any other, it is the peril of civic indifference, the peril that comes from a sleepy public conscience. Civic righteousness will rule in a Democracy and the people will enjoy the blessings of liberty, provided they take an affirmative position in the administration of government. The highest hopes of the people rest on an awakened citizenship, a crystallized public sentiment that looks toward the east and fights behind the guns of freedom and from the fortifications of Democracy.

Something is seriously wrong with our political life when thousands of voters treat elec-

tion day with almost criminal indifference. If the people of America did not have the privilege of voting, they would give the last drop of blood in their veins and the last dollar in their possession to acquire this inalienable right. War would exist, and America would be painted red with the blood of our noble sons until this inherent right was accomplished.

The right to vote has come to America through the fire and blood of ages, through the principles of the Magna Charta, through the door of the *Mayflower*, and through the consecration and sacrifice of our fathers. Notwithstanding this fact many citizens treat the sacred ballot with indifference. They stay at home unless they are reminded that it is election day, and then they sometimes refuse to vote. Frequently, when they vote, they are hauled to the voting precinct in conveyances paid for out of corrupt campaign funds put up by invisible interest and designing men that seek to subsidize the government. America is worth enough to justify every one of us in walking from San Francisco to New York in order to exercise the sacred privilege of voting. "The universe is not rich enough to buy the vote of an honest man."

Prior to the last presidential election Haley Fiske wrote: "From 1888 to 1912 the vote for President of the United States increased at the rate of about 600,000 ballots every four years. In 1916 it reached 18,528,743 votes, an increase of 3,497,574 in four years.

"In 1920, with women voting in many states, the total was 26,705,346; but large as that figure was, it was disappointing, since the men who might have voted numbered 27,661,880, and the women numbered 26,759,952 — a total of 54,421,832.

"This is the first national election in which complete universal suffrage will be effective in the United States. If the fidelity of women to civic duty equals their devotion to home and family, their vote should equal the vote of the men and the total exceed 50,000,000.

"The task before the people of the United States, men and women, is to make Democracy secure and to keep it secure. That will take all their strength, will tax our intelligence to the utmost, and call for our keenest vigilance. Voting is our privilege, our obligation, perhaps even our burden. But it is also our most effective weapon. Short of serious illness, no excuse for failing to vote can pass muster. Whether election day brings heat or cold,

rain or shine, calm or blizzard, get to the polls and vote."

In 1924, with women voting, the total vote cast for Coolidge, Davis, and La Follette was 29,091,417. This was but little over one half of the legal voters of this country. Coolidge was elected President, notwithstanding he received only 15,725,016 votes, less than one third of the total number of citizens who had the right of suffrage. Democracy was established upon the principle of a majority rule, and it will not function properly until this principle is expressed in the conduct of the people on election day.

Citizens who serve their country sparingly on election day, and at other times have no vision of what the establishment of human rights has cost, fail to interpret the heroism and the suffering of nineteen centuries. They fail to dream the dreams of Washington. They fail to hear the tolling of the bell at the old meeting-house at Lexington. They fail to interpret the principles of the Declaration of Independence. They fail to visualize and to vindicate the lives of our fathers, who put freedom above everything.

Daniel Webster said: "Nothing will ruin the country if the people themselves will un-

dertake its safety; and nothing can save it if they leave that safety in any hands but their own." There is enough real life in this country, if awakened and organized behind programs of patriotic action, to solve every educational, social, political, and industrial problem before the people. Spiritual and industrial life in a democratic community is not likely to rise higher than its government. If the ballot fails, everything will ultimately fail. The people should either stop complaining or else take an affirmative interest in the vital questions before the country and an active part in the administration of their government. The people of a Democracy through their civic conduct get the kind of government they order. "All free governments," wrote Lowell, "whatever their name, are in reality governments by public opinion; and it is on the quality of this public opinion that their prosperity depends."

We need schools that will stand at the life anvil of every child and assist in forging a civic freeman; schools that will accompany the voter to the voting precinct and prompt the hand to cast an honest ballot; schools that will bring the ballot box and the people closer together; and schools that will develop a

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civic awakening and brand and publicly disgrace any individual who barter a public trust and who offers to buy or sell the sacred ballot.

CHAPTER XVI

DEMOCRACY AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

When we look deeply into the sources of influence that must administer, rule, and perpetuate our country, we discover that the education of all of the people for their chosen work is not a question of choice, conscious design, or a deliberate mental act, but an inevitable and inherent relation from which the citizen cannot escape. The Declaration of Independence is the greatest educational program ever presented in the world. Its own fundamentals depend upon universal intelligence and righteousness.

When Thomas Jefferson, the world's champion of a practical Democracy, declared the consent of the governed to be the true foundation of all just authority, he affirmed his allegiance to a school system that educates the masses and gives each person an opportunity to prepare for his chosen work. Government by the consent of the governed demands a government built upon a system of education that seeks to develop ideals of justice and service. In a Democracy consent in the hands of

a starving, unproductive, intolerant, ignorant citizenship would become an anarchy. There is no such thing as a free country without free men, and we cannot have a free and enlightened citizenship without free and efficient schools.

The school, like the stars and stripes, inherits unity, patriotic unity, community spontaneity, sacrifice, and loyalty. When the people understand that the school is a citadel of freedom, a fundamental necessity to life, liberty, and property, and that it would be as easy for an individual to live in the center of the Sahara Desert without shelter and food as it would be for a free government to exist without moral, intellectual, and physical support, they will rally around the school for the same reason they fight for the flag. No citizen can turn his back upon the school without turning his back upon the flag.

No man who is for his country, who is for the accomplishment of the ideals of a free Democracy, can consistently be against the school. He cannot be even negatively for it, for he has inherited a progressive relationship and cannot escape this responsibility. With the exception of the public school most organizations of this country are largely ex-

clusive. "The family, the church, the political party, the social classes, the endless social groups and organizations, commercial, industrial, fraternal, purely social — all are exclusive and have exclusive interest. They can never develop the ethical spirit as a community spirit, a spirit that transcends all such bonds and feels that its supreme membership is in the whole community and that the greatest good is that which may be shared by every human being in the community." The public school is inherently a community center, a common ground upon which all of the people can unite in the interest of spiritual and material progress. Fiske wrote: "Let us cherish our public schools as the looms, and our teachers as the weavers who weave the wondrous destiny for the nations."

We cherish public education because it is the friend of the boys and girls. It belongs to Democracy. It is every man's friend, and above all it is the poor man's friend. It is not only for the cities but for the country. It is not only for the home that stands beside the street but for the cabin that stands beside the lonely country road. It knocks at the door of the poor and at the door of the rich. It knocked at the door of my humble home when I was a

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boy and gave me and my eight brothers a glimpse of a new world. We cherish it because it is going to give the boys and girls that take advantage of it something that is more valuable than gold. In one of his great addresses Daniel Webster said: "Education, to accomplish the ends of good government, should be universally diffused. Open the doors of the schoolhouse to all the children in the land. Let no man have the excuse of poverty for not educating his own offspring. Place the means of education within his reach, and if they remain in ignorance, be it his own reproach. On the diffusion of education among the people rests the preservation and perpetuation of our free institution."

Until I was twenty-one years of age I attended a humble rural school which was taught in a log schoolhouse from six to eight weeks each year. During this time I learned to read, write, and cipher. If you could put in one place all the money and material assets of this country and at another place what little I learned at that poor, inadequate school, and you would give me the privilege of taking the former and going through life an illiterate, or living an honest life in a hovel and enjoying the privilege of reading and

studying the thoughts and movements of the world with the latter, I would choose the latter. This is what I think of the humblest public school. The school is not always what it should be, but it is far better than no school at all. Without it freedom would perish from the face of the earth.

Every idler and knocker, every poor school and every child absent from school, every illiterate, every jail and penitentiary building, every criminal in every jail and penitentiary, every case of preventable disease, every unskilled laborer, every poor housekeeper, every unqualified preacher, teacher, doctor, lawyer, every inefficient and dishonest public official, and every other incompetent workman in every other human endeavor reminds us most forcefully of lost opportunity and of social and economic waste. Ruskin said: "There is only one cure for public distress, and that is public education directed to make men more thoughtful, merciful, and just." Lord Macaulay wrote: "For every pound you save in education, you will spend five pounds in prosecutions, in prisons, and in penal settlements." Thomas Jefferson wrote: "If the children are untaught, their crimes and vices will, in the future, cost us much

dearer than they would have done in their correction by good education." The distance between an inadequate and undemocratic education and an adequate democratic education of the masses of the people is Democracy's yardstick, which it uses in measuring its social and industrial efficiency and in evaluating the future opportunities.

Public education has fought for every advancement it has made from its beginning to the present time. It has frequently been the subject of unjust and unsubstantiated attacks, but it has made wonderful progress and will in the future make even greater progress. Nearly 23,000,000 children were enrolled in the free public schools in 1922. At least one person in every five in the United States is at present attending a free public school. The Research Bulletin of the National Education Association issued in September, 1924, says: "In 1870 six children of every ten from five to eighteen years of age were enrolled in a public school. In 1922 eight of every ten children from five to eighteen were enrolled in a public school. Not only are more children enrolled, but more of those enrolled are attending regularly. In 1870 all public elementary and secondary schools

provided 539,053,423 days of schooling. In 1922 they provided 3,022,882,932 days of schooling. If the general population of the United States had increased as rapidly as school attendance between 1870 and 1922, we would have 216,227,633 people in the United States at the present time. If the population of the United States had increased as rapidly as its high-school enrollment since 1890, its general population would now be 687,861,581. The public schools have lifted the general level of education in the United States. In 1880 there were 6,239,958 illiterates, those who had had 'no schooling whatever.' In 1920 there were 4,931,905 in this class. One person in every six in 1880 was without schooling. At the present time one in seventeen has had no school training. In spite of the fact that schools are still practically nonexistent in some communities and that millions of foreign-born illiterates have been admitted since 1880, there has been some progress made in reducing the total number of illiterates. Each decade since 1890 has shown some decrease in the number of people in the United States who have had 'no schooling whatever.'"

It is the duty of Democracy to see to it

that not another illiterate is grown in this country and to give every adult illiterate who desires to improve his life a chance to learn to read and write and to interpret thought. The United States has the highest percentage of illiteracy among the enlightened nations of the world. In 1922 the percentage of illiterates in Germany was .2; Denmark .2; Switzerland .5; Netherlands .6; Finland .9; Norway 1; Sweden 1; Scotland 1.6; England and Wales 1.8; France 4.9; United States 6. In 1920 there were 4,931,905 illiterates in the United States. This number includes only confessed illiterates or persons who declared that they were unable to read and write. It does not include near illiterates.

The Federal Census Report says: "If a person has had even the slightest amount of schooling, he is not classed as an illiterate." The bulletin for American Educational Week, issued by the National Educational Association, says: "The mere ability to write one's name may be considered sufficient for the great mass of those living in an absolute monarchy. In a Democracy where all may vote such a low standard cannot be accepted. A person is really not literate in a Democracy until he is able to read and write with a degree of facility

necessary to the intelligent discharge of his duties as a citizen. The definition of illiteracy in the Federal Census is keyed nearer to the needs of an absolute monarchy than to those of a great Democracy. In addition to the nearly five million illiterates enumerated by the last Federal Census, there are other millions who deserve to be classified as illiterates in that they lack that degree of educational attainment necessary to discharge intelligently their duties as citizens in a Democracy." It is estimated that under the definition of an illiterate used by the army draft there would be approximately 15,000,000 illiterates in the United States. The total vote cast for Coolidge, Davis, and La Follette in 1924 was 29,090,417. Under this classification there was more than one illiterate in the United States for every two votes cast in the last presidential election.

Of the 4,931,905 illiterates in the United States 1,109,875 are native white, and 4,333,111 are over twenty-one years of age. Saying nothing of spiritual values, the economic loss in the United States through illiteracy amounts to enormous sums. Franklin K. Lane, when Secretary of the Interior, said: "The country is losing \$825,000,000

a year through illiteracy. This estimate is no doubt under rather than over the real loss. The federal government and the states spend millions of dollars in trying to give information to the people in rural districts about farming and home-making. Yet 3,700,000, or 10 per cent of our country folk, cannot read or write a word. They cannot read a bulletin on agriculture, a farm paper, a newspaper, the Constitution of the United States, or their Bibles, nor can they keep personal or business accounts."

Is America financially able to educate her people? The following information will aid in answering this question: The total national wealth in 1922 was \$320,803,862,000; the average yearly income is \$65,000,000,000; the amount in savings accounts in 1922 was \$17,331,479,000. The *Chicago Tribune* says: "The United States, though only 5.7 % of the world's territory and including about 6.2 % of the world's population, produces 60 % of the world's pig iron, 53 % of the world's copper, 43 % of the world's coal, 72 % of the world's petroleum, 52 % of the world's cotton, 46 % of the world's lumber, and has 40 % of the world's developed horsepower. We have not only vast riches of nature, but vaster

riches of national character for the development of nature's gifts for the enrichment of our lives."

In 1924 the nation spent for automobiles and accessories \$4,057,000,000; cigars, cigarettes, tobacco, and snuff \$1,847,000,000; beverages (non-alcoholic), ice cream, sodas, etc. \$820,000,000; theaters, movies, and other amusements \$934,000,000; candy \$689,000,000; jewelry, watches, etc. \$453,000,000; firearms and shells \$67,000,000; pianos, organs, phonographs, etc. \$440,000,000; sporting goods, games and toys, cameras, etc. \$431,000,000; fur articles \$333,000,000; perfumes and cosmetics \$261,000,000; chewing gum \$87,000,000; making a total cost for luxuries \$10,419,000,000. Expenditures for all governmental activities except education during the same period was \$8,884,614,781. During the same year the total expenditures for elementary and high-school education amounted to \$1,036,151,209.

It is our duty to recognize and answer Democracy's call for education and more abundant education; ideas and more noble ideas; more government by the teacher and less government by the policeman; more government by the schoolhouse and less

government by the military camp; more and better schools and fewer jails and penitentiaries; more scholars and fewer criminals; more freemen and fewer slaves; more life and still more life. We need more life, and every patriot will join in the great work of putting at the door of every child in the land a modern schoolhouse with equipment and sanitation, a democratized course of study, and a teacher of scholarship, character, and personality. Democracy believes in a public policy and efficiency that will ring the moral, intellectual, and industrial "rising bell" in the life of every child in the land.

A countless number of men with the elements of greatness in them have lived and died without realizing that a giant slumbered in their souls. This country is dotted with graves marking the last resting places of thousands of men who were created to be leaders, but who died without having discovered themselves and their opportunities and without having known their powers. Herbert Hoover wrote: "As a race we produce a considerable percentage of persons in each generation who have the intellectual and moral qualities for the moral and intellectual inspiration of others, for the organization and

administration of our gigantic economic and intellectual machinery, and for invention and creation. I believe that we lose a large portion of those who could join these ranks because we fail to find them, to train them rightly, to create character in them, and to inspire them to effort. Our teachers are necessarily the army of inspectors in our nation who must find these individuals and who must stimulate them forward."

Our country's greatest asset is not in her rich acres of land teeming with a laughing harvest; it is not in her mountains and hills bursting with mineral wealth; it is not in her rivers of unharnessed water power; it is not in her beautiful parks, cities, public buildings, and commerce. We value these rich blessings, but we value more than these our boys and girls. Childhood is our greatest asset and the hope of our future country. Edward Grover wrote: "I believe in boys and girls, the men and women of a great tomorrow; that whatever the boy soweth the man shall reap. I believe in the curse of ignorance, in the efficacy of schools, in the dignity of teaching; and in the joy of serving others. I believe in wisdom as revealed in human lives as well as in the pages of the printed book, in lessons taught,

not so much by precept as by example; in ability to work with the hands as well as to think with the head; in everything that makes life large and lovely. I believe in laughter, in love, in faith, in all ideals and distant hopes that lure us on. I believe that every hour of every day we receive a just reward for all we are and all we do. I believe in the present and its opportunities, in the future and its promises, in the divine joy of living."

CHAPTER XVII

THE SCHOOL IN A DEMOCRACY

The school that is built upon the nature and aspirations of the child and upon human needs and justice is a democratized school that will pour the red blood of intelligence and integrity, of democratic inspiration and progress, into the civic, social, and industrial arteries of the community through human aggressiveness and through the spontaneity of a patriotic and ethical people. It will not accomplish this task, however, unless it is founded upon social and industrial justice and is vitalized through and through with leadership and the spirit of service. Make the school, in its broadest sense, a Democracy, a militant and unselfish life, and it will stimulate every fiber of life in the community.

The school of tomorrow will be built upon human needs. The inalienable rights of each individual will be considered. The home, the shop, the factory, the farm, the public highway, and the community will become laboratories for this school. It will be cultured, socialized, industrialized, and democratized.

It will improve the productive capacity of all the people and, at the same time, vitalize wealth with the spirit of service. It will take poverty and misery out of the home and crown it with life. It will be a school "of the people, by the people, and for the people." It will be the most vital organ in the community body, the source of the currents of life, a fountain of Democracy.

A democratized school becomes a part of the organic life of the community and of the state and an enduring and permanent success, because the people realize that it increases health, human energy, productivity, and happiness and promotes the principles of Democracy, and because it demands that every human niche in government, in society, in commerce be filled by a citizen who feels, knows, and bears responsibility, who fills his niche with vision, poised character, and vitalized activity, and who realizes that democratic life is occupied life, which has intelligence and Christian ballast.

If the school has in its organism positive power to teach, to impart information to others, and to stimulate the child to give up the smaller effort for the larger effort with a rising faith in its ability to achieve, it will

accomplish these results largely without mechanical efforts. It will teach and influence, because it has dynamic leadership, because it has a depth of soul and a breadth of information, because its courses of study, its spirit, its vision, its ideals, its motives, and its patriotism are moral, patriotic, and just, and because the school itself is a great lesson in morality and Democracy. It would be as easy for a great tree some bright summer afternoon to withhold its shade from the earth as it would be for a school that is vitalized with the currents of Democracy to withhold its enriching life from a democratic community.

The greater education will have less of the school machine and more freedom; less of the control of the school by mechanical and dead rules and more control by the ruling spirit of Democracy; less of mechanical devices and more individuality and initiative; less of the grinding routine and more human spontaneity; less of the molding process and more of the growing process; less of the supervised and inflexible course of study and more teacher-leadership and responsibility that is capable of interpreting the needs of the community and of the pupil.

The rule of the school that is going to make great citizens is not a printed placard on the walls of the school building, mechanically telling the pupil what he must do and must not do, but it is a desire, a purpose in the life of the school, that influences the pupil to do what a lady or a gentleman would do. It is not a signboard posted on the school grounds, pointing its artificial finger at the pupils, notifying them to keep off the grass, but it is a patriotism, a vision of duty, that makes them take an interest in civic beauty and in making the world a beautiful place in which to live. It is not nails driven through a plank in the windows to keep boys from sitting in them but nails driven in the mind and conscience. It is not a blue button standing for a good boy and for school loyalty, worn on the lapel of the coat, but a duty worn in the soul. It is not a switch but a moral spontaneity, responsibility, and initiative that exists in the life of the school, that corrects the wrong and applauds the right. It is not a gold medal offered for intellectual achievements and for the best oration but a desire to have more life and to render more service to humanity in this interesting world. It is not the approach to a dead school day filled

with mechanical duties but an eagerness to rise early in the morning and go to work, making a real fishing tackle before starting on a cruise in new and interesting waters. Edwin D. Starbuck writes: "Use the entire school program for training in character. We are ceasing to regard the moral life as a special compartment of the entire personality. For the most part we must desist from setting aside times and seasons for special instructions in morals. The good person is not good in an abstract and general way. He is one who habitually meets every vital situation gracefully, thoughtfully, helpfully, and ideally. Whenever difficult situations arise naturally in the course of studies or in the occupations of the school, these must be met with all the tact, seasoned judgment, and sustained thinking that teacher and pupil can summon. Progressively, as children grow older, these occasions will more frequently arise and demand the most acute discrimination of right from wrong attitudes, the most painstaking definitions or moral concepts, and groupings and classifications of the virtues. There is hardly any limit to the acumen and refinement of thought children can command when they face a real situation. There is hardly any

thinking to which they can be driven when forced up against any artificial situation."

No school that is not itself aglow with enthusiasm for knowledge, refinement, beauty, sincerity, truth, and righteousness can kindle in those under its charge this flame of higher life. I cannot think of anything that is more pathetic than for a school executive to preach the gospel of high ideals and good citizenship to the world when he fails to make the standard himself, when his own school board is at war over some petty school item; when the members of the faculty are jealous of each other's success and salary and do not have pleasure in each other's achievements; when the student-body is divided into factions, fraternities, and academic aristocracies, each declaring dividends for vandalism, for hazing, and for exclusiveness rather than for the rule of sympathy, interest, and fellowship.

I have no objection to formal, moral training in the school, but I believe it is best accomplished through the ethical nature of man, constructive chapel exercises and recitations, debating societies, school games, spontaneous moral enthusiasm, and student and faculty loyalty to lofty ideals. I believe that the growing of patriotic citizens in a school for

service in a Democracy is best accomplished through a militant school sentiment that enforces the right and challenges the wrong, and through a contagion of personality that pushes and pulls and influences the community, by making it strong in productivity, strong in body, strong in mind, strong in heart, noble in conduct, and responsible for the ideals of the school and for the ideals of the community. The live school does not have to put its influence on when it rises in the morning in order that it may exert a good influence during the day, for its influence is its life; it is its leadership and its Democracy; it is what the school is and what it does.

Undemocratic school rules made by blind school teachers have a tendency to make violators of the law and to fill our penitentiaries with criminals. If we use corporal punishment or a mechanical rule to govern a child while in school, it may take a law and jail to govern him after he leaves school. The ethical child experiences a thrill whenever it cheats the schoolmaster's dogma and an artificial code of school regulations; and every time it has this experience it is likely to have less respect for the dignity of the law and for constituted authority. School rules that are not founded upon

justice, upon the ethical nature of man, and upon the ideals of an innate freedom and justice have done much harm.

A little girl nine years of age visited her little friend who was attending school. Her friend prepared her lunch early in the morning and put it on the mantelpiece. While she was out of the room, her little visitor ate the lunch. When asked why she did it, she said: "You did not put it where I could not get it." Much of our effort to train citizens in school for life in a Democracy accomplishes this kind of result.

"Learn to live by living" should characterize the life of every school in the land. Actual life in the home, on the farm, in the shop, in the factory, in the store, on the way to and from school, in the recitation, on the athletic field, and in every other act and thought of the school must be vitalized if we would make good citizens out of the boys and girls and train them for life in a Democracy.

The thought and conduct of the child of tomorrow depends upon the child of today. If we would make the boys and girls of tomorrow great citizens capable of responsibility, we must prepare them for future citizenship. We must start out with the idea that the child

is already a citizen of responsibility, and that it is just as impossible to make a great boy without putting responsibility upon his life as it would be for one to be a great man without recognizing his obligations to society. We must teach the child that —

“If it should come to a river deep and wide,
And there were no canoe to skim it,
And its duty was on the other side,
That it would jump in and swim it.”

The child will not swim the river of tomorrow unless it swims the river of today. It will not live tomorrow unless it lives today. It is not likely to be moral tomorrow unless it is moral today.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TEACHER AND DEMOCRACY

The teacher has inherited patriotic responsibility and leadership. He is a personality born in the vision of free government. The only way to get along without the teacher is to abolish the school. If we do this, Democracy would languish and die, unless we should find some other institution to take the school's place. If we should find such an institution, it would be a school or something the schools are trying to be.

It would be as easy for the physical body to live without the physical heart as it would be for Democracy to live without the school. It would be as easy for Democracy to exist without spirit as it would be to have a good school without a good teacher. The larger Democracy must be accomplished through the larger education, and the larger education must be accomplished through the larger Democracy. Both must be largely accomplished through the teaching power and influence of an adequate number of adequately trained teachers who learn, who love, who serve.

The state that has the men has the present, the state that has the schools has the future, and the state that has the teachers has the schools. It is a progressive statesmanship which realizes that whatever is desired in the life of the state must be developed in the life of the teachers who train the children of the state. We sometimes try to bring about school reform by external, mechanical methods rather than by inspired leadership. Society too frequently looks for a good school in an untried educational theory rather than in a personal resurrection and a professional regeneration. It is dangerous for educational reform to reach the school ahead of a trained and reformed teacher. Wherever you find educational efficiency you will find the commanding personality and leadership of a teacher. Educational efficiency will not rise higher than educational leadership.

The work of transmuting the school fund and all other money raised for education into effective human power and into a greater Democracy is the most vital economic and spiritual problem that is now before the people. Millions of dollars raised for education have been squandered upon inefficient teaching, and this waste will continue until

stopped through the development of a qualified and stable teaching profession. Agricultural progress recognizes a waste in every nubbin ear of corn, and then it proceeds to make big ears of corn and to stop the waste by operating on the farmer. Fundamental educational progress recognizes every poor school as a tremendous waste to the community and to the Commonwealth, and then it proceeds to have a better school and to stop the waste by operating upon the teacher.

The returns from the millions of dollars spent annually for the education of the children depend finally upon the character of the teachers employed in our schools; upon their mental, moral, and religious qualities and their ideals in life; upon their breadth, their depth, their fullness and fineness; upon their culture and their skill in teaching. Add to the qualifications and salary of the teacher, to the scope of work and influence of teacher-training schools, and to all other agencies that will develop teaching power, and we will subtract from a tremendous waste of the school fund and educational efforts and, at the same time, add to the intelligence and earning capacity of the people.

Any citizen who tries to improve the educa-

tional affairs of the country by withholding needed material support from those institutions and from educational efforts designed to train teachers for a larger service and to make them worthy of a larger salary proceeds on the theory that the way to be rescued from a leaking boat is to make the leak larger and sink the boat. There is a leak in the school system through which millions of dollars are passing. This must be stopped through a better qualified, better paid, and more stable teaching profession.

After all, the greatness of a school is not so much in school laws and systems, organizations, buildings, grounds, and equipment as it is in the life behind these things; not so much in the course of study as in the teacher's vision of the needs of the pupils and of the community and in the ability of its teachers to interpret its course of study into effective human power and service. We may study until our heads are white, or we may look the world over for a course of study that will prepare citizens for life in a Democracy, to find in the end that all of the ideal courses of study cannot be written in a book or outlined in a pamphlet but that it is in the vision, the character, and inter-

preting power of the teachers. A live course of study will die in the hands of a dead teacher, and a dead course of study will become a live course of study in the hands of a live teacher. Real teaching is the essence of personality more than the essence of a course of study. Both are necessary.

There are courses of study that are buried three feet under the ground and that will remain there until resurrection day unless the breath of life is breathed into them by a real teacher. There are school laws, enacted in the interest of reform, that have not breathed since they were entered upon the statutes.

In order to be a little more definite, we might say that agriculture is in the course of study, and that nubbins are in the field. Dietetics is in the school, and dyspepsia is in the home. A sanitary cup is in the book of statutes, and an old tin cup hangs at the school well.

We may have modern schoolhouses, longer school terms, local taxation, consolidation, and all other things that enter into a well-ordered school and school community, but without the vitalizing touch of qualified teachers, schoolhouses will become dead matter, school terms will be too long, local taxa-

tion unprofitable, and consolidation a failure. Put a poor teacher in a good schoolhouse with its modern equipment and attractive grounds, and you will still have a poor school. Put a good teacher in a poor schoolhouse with poor equipment, and you will have a pretty good school, if not a good school, and, as a result of the influences of the teacher, you will in a short time have a modern school building, modern equipment, and a local educational interest.

Educational enthusiasm will leave the community, it will go visiting, when the poor teacher enters the community. We must not minimize physical equipment and other outward necessities, but we must emphasize spiritual equipment. We must not subtract from the schoolhouse, but we must add to the teacher. "In all the ages since schools began the supreme value which attaches to the personality and skill of the teacher has been recognized, and in this scientific age when we are possessed of the spirit to evaluate and distribute merit, many have attempted to state numerically the relative value of the teacher in the scheme of the school. Buildings, apparatus, and a teacher are the instruments used in the education of children. If

the total effect of these three instrumentalities be rated at 100 per cent, what proportion of the total should be assigned to the teacher? Opinions will vary, but no discerning person will venture to rate the contribution of the teacher lower than 80 per cent of the total, and many will place it as high as 85 per cent."

Some of us would rather our children should attend a school conducted under a tent, or under a tree, or in a lighted cave, and be taught by a trained and free teacher of vision and initiative, for three months in the year, than to attend a school conducted in the most modern school building in this country and taught by a poor teacher, for ten months in the year. Every child, however, is entitled to a good schoolhouse with modern equipment and proper physical environment and a good teacher for nine or ten months in the year.

There is a great citizen not far away whose early outlook upon life was gloomy. He had native ability but was without purpose and ambition. He entered a school that was taught by a great teacher who had given himself a rich preparation for his chosen work. The teacher was great in purpose, sympathy,

and service. The light of the teacher soon lighted up the life of the boy, and he decided to be and to do something in life. He said: "I am going to be an oculist. I am going to be the best oculist in this land." An overmastering purpose possessed him and became a faith, a fire, in the home of his soul.

His teacher unconsciously led him to see that his success in the treatment of the eye depended upon his own ability to see, not only with the physical eye but with the eye of the spirit. He completed a preparatory course of study and then entered a higher institution of learning and graduated. Everything he did and everything he studied seemed to be related in some way or somehow to an effort to make the blind see. His purpose was a patriotism and not a commercialism, a service and not a salary, a life and not a vocation.

He then entered a school that offered a special course arranged for the study of the eye and graduated with honors. He located in a small city and announced that he was ready to treat the eye. Only a few patrons came, however, and he was discouraged, but he had preparation, faith, and patience.

There had lived in the little town for

twenty-five years a blind man, and he went to the office of the young oculist one day and asked for eyes that would enable him to see. He had knocked at the door of other oculists only to be turned back into a dark world. The young oculist, fired by an effort to help the blind to see, made a trial of his faith. The light of his life lighted up the eyes of the blind man, and he was able to see. The people heard about the remarkable cure and came from all directions seeking light. In the preparation of this little story we have emphasized that the teacher is the oculist and the soul is the eye, that the school is the oculist and the community is the eye, and that the light of the eye and of the community depend upon the light of the oculist.

Dr. George Palmer, distinguished educator, who has been an instructor in Harvard College for more than thirty years, says: "The whole notion of bargain is an inapplicable sphere where the gain of him that serves and who is served coincide and that is largely the case with the profession of teaching. Harvard College pays me for doing what I would gladly pay it for allowing me to do. The real payment is the work itself; this and the chance to join with other members of the profession in

guiding and enjoying the sphere of its activities. The ideas sometime advanced that the profession might be ennobled by paying teachers liberally is fantastic. Their great attraction is their removal from sordid aims. More money should certainly be spent on the profession of teaching. Its members should be better protected against want, anxiety, and neglect. To do his best work one needs not merely to live, but to live well; but, in that increase of salary which is urgently needed, care should be used not to allow the attention of the teacher to be diverted from what is important, the product of his work, and become fixed on what is merely incidental, his income."

If the motive of the teacher does not rise higher than his salary, he will fail to accomplish real results in the work of training citizens for effective service. The teacher's ideal must travel ahead of the teacher's salary, or the teacher's profession will die. The real teacher would rather have a small salary and be qualified than to have a large salary and not be qualified. He is always more concerned about the ideals he is developing in the life of his pupils than he is about the number of dollars he receives. The ideal and the dollar

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cannot even walk arm in arm by each other's side. The ideal must be ahead of the salary. This is the nature of the teaching profession. On the other hand, the teaching profession cannot have spirit, optimism, outlook, travel, and the comforts of life and prepare for effective service without a just salary. No great teacher, however, regardless of the salary he has received, has ever been, or ever will be, fully paid in dollars and cents for the services he renders. The teacher receives two rewards, one in a salary and the other in more life and a larger capacity for service.

CHAPTER XIX

EDUCATION AND COMMERCIALISM

We have already emphasized in this book the fact that Democracy is an ideal and that it has unity of purpose and of effort. No man has ever seen a country or a part of a country with the physical eye. It is invisible, it is spiritual. It is a spiritual thought and service. We may boast of our houses and religious, educational, and public buildings, our roads, streets, and modern farms, our visible cities and industrial enterprises, and all other things constructed by human hands in the outward world, to find, in the end, that they are only photographs of the real community.

Put the people of America in Russia and the people of Russia in America, and America will be in Russia and Russia will be in America. Material Russia would go up, and material America would go down. In a little while there would be peace and plenty in Russia and woe and want in America. There would be a shifting not only of spiritual values but of material values. Land that is now salable at high prices in the United States could then

be purchased for a song, and unmarketable lands in Russia would increase rapidly in values. What Russia needs is most of the things the United States has. What the United States needs is an increasing loyalty to the ideals that have made her great and less of the tendency to put commercial values over spiritual values.

"A statesman may," wrote Bancroft, "do much for commerce — most, by leaving it alone. A river never flows so smoothly as when it follows its own course, without either aid or check. Let it make its own bed; it will do so better than you can. Commerce defies every wind, outrides every tempest, and invades every zone." Grow a healthy citizen, and you will develop a healthy commerce. Get the spiritual empire right, and the material empire will be right. Give the child a democratic education, and you will have a democratic government and a democratic commerce.

A country depends upon spiritual geography more than it does upon physical geography. The number of square miles it contains, its material development, and even its population, when counted in the terms of constructive ideals, depend largely upon the character and productive capacity of its citizens. When

considered in the terms of personality and constructive ideals, Democracy enlarges her territory and her industrial life and increases her population through her efforts to develop a full-grown citizenship. It adds to its commerce and increases its population by adding to its ideals and by increasing the productive capacity of her people.

On this basis what would be the spiritual and material value and the population of America, if all her citizens were as strong in body, mind, and heart as Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, or Wilson? What would be the result, if all of her citizens put dollars above ideals and a corporation above the government? What would be the result, if they had formal education, holding degrees from higher institutions of learning but were cunning, intellectual rascals, without civic integrity? What would be the result, if they were illiterates who could not read and write but had "that other thing" discussed elsewhere in this book? What would be the result, if they were illiterates who could read and write but did not have "that other thing"? What would be the result, if they had trained minds and "that other thing" but sick bodies? What is the result at the present time under the rule

of our present citizenship? In whose hands would you place the flag?

The citizen who honestly produces material wealth and puts it to work in the fields of service is a benefactor to his country. The citizen who chases dollars and runs from ideals and patriotic responsibilities, who takes advantage of his neighbor in a business transaction, who drives a trade at the cost of principles, who dishonestly manipulates the market for selfish reasons, who makes millions on unjust profits, who uses his influence to have unjust laws enacted that will aid his business regardless of their effect upon the people, and who commercializes government for personal gain is a dangerous enemy to Democracy, if not an American traitor.

The nation that gains material wealth and loses Democracy loses everything. The nation that gains material wealth through the principles and ideals of Democracy and then transmutes this wealth into a larger Democracy gains everything. It takes money with ideals of service in every dollar to make democratic wealth. No nation gains anything unless it gains the capacity to make a proper use of its possessions. "Morality is the nature of things." It is the nature of making and of

spending money, of business, of operating banks, railroads, and corporations, and of doing other things. Otherwise these things have no place in a Democracy. It is the nature of the citizen of limited means and of the millionaire; otherwise they are not real Americans. A citizen may have only one dollar and yet have too much, while another may have one million dollars and not have enough. This is the law of Democracy and of service.

At this time, when the people are inclined to put dollars above ideals, when the atmosphere is heavy with commercialism, when profiteers put profits above principles, and when the masses are calling for a system of vocational education that would increase their earning capacity and material possessions, it is important for us not to overlook the ethical side of education. After all, "Education does not mean teaching people to know what they do not know, so much as it means teaching them to act as they do not act."

America has never taken a human life in order to gain an acre of land. She has never gone to war for gold and dominion, but she has given and she will give life and property in a spiritual conquest for principles, ideals, and

justice. So long as this motive shapes her policy, stimulates her laws, and administers her government, she will continue to grow in spiritual and economic stature and be a commanding power and influence in the world. What is the true value of a country? James Russell Lowell, in his classical essay *Democracy*, says: "I am saddened when I see our successes as a nation measured by the number of acres under tillage or the bushels of wheat exported; for the real value of a country must be weighed in scales more delicate than the Balance of Trade. The garnerers of Sicily are empty now, but the bees from all climes still fetch honey from the tiny garden of Theocritus. On a map of the world you may cover Judea with your thumb, Athens with a finger tip, and neither of them figures in the Prices Current; but they still lord it in the thought and action of every civilized man. Did not Dante cover with his hood all that was Italy six hundred years ago? Material success is good, but only as the necessary preliminary of better things. The measure of a nation's true success is the amount it has contributed to the thought, to the moral energy, the intellectual happiness, the spiritual hope, and consolation of mankind."

I believe in the development of the inexhaustible material resources of our country, in a magnetic and sane material progress that will stimulate effort and efficiency in every honorable human endeavor, add new wealth to our personal holdings, and put red blood in the arteries of commerce. I believe in vocational and all other forms of training that will aid in living a full life. I believe in an educational policy that will reach the homes of the land, improve the productive capacity of the people on the farm, in the factory, and elsewhere, and make the country rich in material things, but I would make the motives that prompt the effort a love, a service, a moral enthusiasm.

It would be better for us to live on short rations and to die in a hut, and yet preserve our spiritual and intellectual integrity, our chivalry, and our human sympathy, than to die rich in a mansion and be a commercialized, selfish people. Neither one is right. The remedy is in a proper use of our inalienable life and property privileges. The country has no higher function than to take advantage of these great principles. Our opportunity is in the people and in the nation's inexhaustible resources.

An intellectual but commercialized farmer said: "I am going to plant a great crop of corn. I am sending the plow down deep, very deep. I am pulverizing the soil. The elements necessary to corn growth and large production are in my fertile land. I have good seed corn, a big ear of corn in every seed. I am going to grow corn, and then I will have more money. I will buy more land, loan more money at a splendid rate of interest to my neighbors, and have more money for everything my family wants, more money for ourselves and no more." This is commercialism and not Democracy. This citizen did well as far as he went, but he did not go far enough. He did not plant a flag in his hills of corn. He did not vitalize his motives with "that other thing." He did not live "above the rim." He did not grow democratic corn. The products of his information and labor stopped at his own door. Information alone is not democratic education. It may not be even a contribution to Democracy. "Wealth alone is an ugly beggar."

Another intellectual but democratic farmer said: "I am going to plant a great crop of corn. I am sending the plow down deep, very deep. I am pulverizing the soil. The elements

necessary to corn growth and large production are in my fertile land. I have good seed corn, a big ear of corn in every seed. I am going to grow corn, and then I will have more money — more money to provide for the needs of our home, for the education of our children, for books and newspapers and current publications for the library, for the church, the school, and good roads, and to aid in the work of making our home, our community, our state, and our nation a decent place in which to live." This is Democracy. This citizen vitalized his motives with the spirit of Valley Forge. He lived "above the rim." He planted a flag in every hill of corn. He had acquired a democratic education. He grew democratic corn. Henry Van Dyke wrote:

"Four things a man must learn to do
If he would make his record true:
To think without confusion, clearly;
To love his fellowmen sincerely;
To act from honest motives purely;
To trust in God and heaven securely."

Mr. Van Dyke gives us in these lines a definition of democratic education and a constitution of permanent reform.

CHAPTER XX

INVISIBLE CAPITAL

Shortly after the smoke of the Civil War had cleared away, a bouncing and promising boy entered this strenuous world, in a little log hut located among the sand hills of a Southern rural community. After much concern his parents decided they would name him after his uncle William, who had lost his life while following the Confederate flag. The boy was afterward called Bill by the members of his family and by all who knew him.

Bill was watched and loved by his great father and mother, who lived in humble surroundings, but who were industrious and progressive and believed in giving a boy a chance to live and a chance to grow. Bill grew strong in body and in spirit and was a promising boy at the age of six. His parents were not educated but believed in education, and, as a result, Bill was sent to a little rural school which was conducted in a log schoolhouse. It was a humble school with modest surroundings, not what it should have been, but his

wise parents believed that most schools are better places for a boy to be in than not in any school at all.

When Bill was ten years of age, his parents turned over to him for cultivation a little plot of land that was not more than forty yards square, and told him he might cultivate it during his spare moments and have all that he could produce upon it. This little plot of land made Bill quite happy, became to him a real farm, and made him a leader, a man of affairs, in his community.

Bill was so busily engaged that he forgot to be an idler or even a bad boy. He bore responsibility with the dignity of an "old timer." He was industrious and did many kinds of work at home and on his father's farm, but he seemed to enjoy working on his own farm more than anything else he did. He talked about his farm a great deal and told his mother one night that he really loved the dirt out on his place. It seemed that Bill's farm had got into his life, and that Bill's life had got into his farm. It was hard to tell whether Bill was running the farm or the farm was running Bill. He would frequently sit in front of big wood fires during winter evenings and talk to his farm and have visions of crops which he intended

to grow next year. He grew splendid crops, gathered and sold them for good prices, and deposited the money in his bank, which was a little tin box on the top of the lintel of his humble home.

Bill could see the crops that grew on his farm, but he could not see the education he acquired at the school. He asked his mother what education was, and she said: "Bill, you have been a good boy. You have obeyed your father and your mother. You love your country. You have attended Sunday school and church and have given some of your money to the Sunday school and the church, the public school, and to all efforts to build up the community. You have loved your schoolmates and neighbors and have been interested in them. You have been kind to your sister and her companions. You have taken an active interest in your school, and the other day you filled up a mud hole that was in the middle of the public road that passed by our gate. You have been a good farmer and have been able to produce a better crop each year. You think more, and you have loved more, made more, and given more than heretofore. You have something in you that has made you a noble boy. You cannot see the thing that prompted

and enabled you to do these things; it is what I call life, but some people call it Democracy.”

Bill finished the equivalent of a common-school and a high-school course. After finishing his high-school work, he made sufficient money to go to a higher institution of learning, where he graduated with honors. After graduating, he secured a good position, saved some of his money, and gave some of it to worthy causes.

After accumulating about \$3,000, Bill was seized with the Alaskan gold fever which spread over this country at that time, and he decided to go to the Klondike to get gold. He wanted gold, gold; and he decided to make a trial of his faith in the fields of Alaska, forgetting that he had a gold mine in his education and in the spiritual and material opportunities offered in America. Bill gave up his position and purchased a ticket for Seattle, Washington.

On arriving in Seattle, he bought an outfit for the trip to Alaska. He purchased a long knife, a pistol, a Winchester rifle, provisions enough to last for two years, a fur suit of clothes that would enable him to sleep on the snow with perfect comfort, a sled, and other things. His equipment was loaded on a ship,

and he sailed for Skagway. On reaching Skagway, he started in search of gold across the rugged and dangerous path which led along the edge of rugged cliffs and over swollen and dangerous streams. The sled was loaded to its capacity and was pulled by Bill for a distance of two miles and unloaded. Another load was transported for a distance of two miles, and this effort was repeated until he had moved all of his equipment up a distance of two miles. This effort was repeated for two miles farther, and then for two miles farther, until he had traveled for sixty-two days toward the Klondike.

On being awakened one night, Bill found that he was in the hands of a band of desperadoes. He was ordered by their leader, who was known and feared all over Alaska, to make no resistance, and while looking up the barrel of a Winchester rifle, he wisely agreed to the terms of the desperadoes. Everything he had was taken with the exception of some of his clothing and enough food to enable him to get back to Skagway. He started on his return trip, wondering what would become of him. He was thrown into a swollen stream and was rescued by a group of government men some three hundred yards below the point

where he had attempted to cross the stream. He finally reached Skagway, scarred in body but hopeful in spirit. Everybody told him that there was no work in Skagway a person could get to do.

While sitting around a stove in the back end of a store earnestly studying what he could do to secure money with which to provide for a night's lodging and something to eat, he discovered that he had in his possession \$90,000. Ninety thousand dollars in bonds! Ninety thousand dollars in spiritual bond! Ninety thousand dollars in that invisible thing his mother called life but others called education and Democracy. A leading official stepped up to Bill and said: "Go with me. I will give you \$3,600 annually. We will pay you this amount for the splendid thing we call education which refused to surrender to the band of desperadoes on the path." Bill decided for the first time that his gold mine was in himself, and not in the Alaskan gold fields. Thirty-six hundred dollars capitalized him, on a four per cent basis, at \$90,000. Bill went to work and made a reputation for rendering efficient and painstaking service.

The following letter was written by Bill to his parents on his return to Skagway:

My dear Father and Mother:

I have had an experience. After all, it takes a real education and real experience to prepare for real life. After having traveled for sixty-two days over the Alaskan path in search of gold, I was captured by a band of desperadoes and was forced to give up practically everything I had, except the education which I secured while attending the schools in the States. The desperadoes were under the command of a leader who is known and feared throughout Alaska. They were kind enough to let me keep some of my clothing and enough food to keep me alive until I could get back to Skagway.

I had a perilous return, full of risks and hair-breadth escapes, and would have lost my life in a swollen stream if I had not been rescued by three men employed by the government. I returned to Skagway, however, sore in body, torn in spirit, and, I believe, a wiser and stronger man. I am now feeling good, am happy, and am getting along splendidly.

Even in the midst of all of this experience, which has been enough to try any life, I find satisfaction in the effort and have had my faith in humanity enlarged rather than diminished. There is some satisfaction in knowing that the desperadoes had enough good in them to allow me to keep some of my best clothing and enough food to get back to Skagway. I believe that the thing which prompted these men to let me have this food and clothing is the thing that would have made them good citizens if they had had the same opportunities I had. Of course, some people inherit tendencies that education will not overcome, but I am certain that if the leader of the gang had got the right kind of start in life he would have made a great citizen. The three

men who rescued me came near losing their lives in order to save me. They simply knew that I was a human being, fighting for my life in an angry stream. There was something in them that prompted them to risk their lives in order to save me. These men had the same spirit our fathers had when they suffered and died for the establishment of our government. They have the same spirit the democratic community has when it makes real sacrifices for a proper education of its children. This is enough to make me an optimist and to increase my faith in the inherent nature of the human being and in the triumph of the American government.

A few hours after I reached Skagway, a prominent citizen offered me a position at \$3600 annually. On a four per cent basis this capitalized me at \$90,000. It had never occurred to me before that I had an estate and that education has value that rises far above dollars. I am trying to do my work well in order to merit the recognition that has been extended to a stranger in a new country and in order that I may be worthy of you and my land. I really do not know what would have become of me if I had not attended school and secured an education. I have been thinking about it while far away from you, and have come to the conclusion that, if it had not been for you and your militant attitude toward education, and if you had not sent me to school sometimes when I did not want to go, I would have drifted around and would never have given myself the necessary training to meet the demands of this life.

There are thousands of people on the streets of Skagway who have lost all of their material possessions and are really suffering from the lack of common neces-

sities of life. Most of them are uneducated and not prepared for any kind of efficient work. Having had their experience on the path, I naturally feel deeply for them. You know, after all, it is necessary to suffer in order to enter fully into the life of those who suffer. There are a few people here who are inclined to hold these people responsible for their lack of training, but I do not feel this way about it, for many of them would have done better than I have, if they had had a father and a mother who took an interest in their education and who made, as you did, a proper estimate of its value in one's life and its organic place in a Democracy. I told a citizen the other day that society was much to blame for every uneducated citizen in the States, and that these untrained lives are only the mirrors in which we see the indifference of the people toward education, the most vital thing in the land. Under the circumstances, I feel that the National Government should make an appropriation, which I understand it contemplates doing, to return these citizens to their homes. I believe it should do this, and then see to it that not another illiterate citizen is grown in our free land.

While in the States, I knew hundreds of men and women of ability who were indifferent in regard to their education. Many of them did not pursue their work further than the fourth grade, and but few took advantage of higher education. I want you to tell the boys and the girls for me that there is one thing that can look up the barrel of a Winchester rifle and not surrender, and that is education; that there is one thing that cannot be mortgaged and sold in front of a courthouse, and that is education; that there is one thing that cannot be taken from them, even by a band of

desperadoes on the Alaskan path, and that is education. There is a satisfaction in having something that cannot be taken from you, something that is stored in the vault of your life, and in knowing that you yourself are the desperado, the vault, the combination, and that the only thing that can open the vault and take away its possessions is an act of your own will.

Tell Uncle Dick, who has always denied his boy educational advantages, who has fought every school movement that required an expenditure of money, who has always put a few rusty dollars above living ideals and his corn crib above his country, that when he leaves this world, he had better leave his boy an education without a farm than to leave him a farm without an education. Many people do not seem to understand that a farm, a store, a bank, a bond, or any other material possession in the hands of ignorance is, after all, a kind of tragedy. Indeed, material possessions without spiritual and intellectual possessions become burdens upon the shoulder of the human being. Five hundred acres of land on the back of an ignorant farmer makes a slave. If Uncle Dick does not change his course, that farm of his will take wings after he is dead and fly out of the hands of his ignorant boy into the hands of some other man's son who was interested in his child's education and gave him a chance to develop not only his body but his mind and character. It seems to me that vitalized intelligence is the law of possession as well as of spiritual and commercial thrift.

I shall write you frequently. Give my love to everybody, and tell Uncle Dick I always enjoyed those loud prayers of his while at church, but that I now fear his prayers will not prevail before the throne of God unless

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he opens up his purse, votes for the local school tax now pending in his community, and sees to it that his boy has a chance to get a real democratic education.

Affectionately yours,

BILL.

Bill is now one of the foremost citizens of the West. He is capitalized at \$300,000 on a four per cent basis. He is a most earnest advocate of education and believes the hope of the world is in Democracy and in a system of education that gives every human being a square deal. He told a great assemblage of farmers in a western city the other day that the little farm forty yards square which was turned over to him by his father when he was ten years old, together with the religious training of his home and the education he secured, have been the greatest factors in the making of his life.

CHAPTERS XXI

GOALS AND DETOURS

In the growth of a Democracy the individual must receive inspiration, help, and leadership from the universal spirit of the civic whole. Democracy is the leader, the parent, the teacher, the friend of each individual unit in the whole. In the story following, Uncle Sam typifies Democracy, or the civic whole, and James the citizen who must be shown the ideal life in a Democracy.

Uncle Sam went with James to the shoals of a beautiful lake to teach him to swim. He was pleased because James wanted to swim in order to be a useful citizen and because he wanted to teach others to swim. James had a worthy goal and a worthy motive. Uncle Sam told the people that James was making a real American beginning.

After several weeks of earnest work in the shallow water something happened one day in James's life that gave him great joy and thrilled his soul. He exclaimed, "The water held me up that time." Uncle Sam told him that he was learning to swim and that every

time one of his citizens learned to swim he could swim better himself. He said that he himself could feel something holding him up every time the water held up one of his citizens. He quoted Pascal, who said: "The multitude which does not reduce itself to unity is confusion; the unity which does not depend upon the multitude is tyranny." He said that in order to avoid confusion it was necessary for his people to swim, and in order to avoid tyranny it was necessary for him to do all within his power to aid them in learning to swim. He emphasized that this is the law of unity and progress.

James advanced rapidly until he could swim from fifty to sixty feet in the shallow water. About this time it seemed that he was not making satisfactory advancement and was apparently losing interest. He did not even seem to feel that the water would hold him up any more. Uncle Sam said that possibly James did not know that his life had reached the deep water and inherently desired to go forward. He said that James might be making invisible detours in his own life contrary to the law of progress, but that Rousseau said: "There is a period of life when we go back as we advance." He be-

lieved that nature was preparing James for the larger experience. He quoted the words of Swift: "All the curves show great irregularity of advance. Progress is never uniform but always by jumps. The learner seems to make no gain for several days or even longer; then he takes a leap, perhaps to get a good grip and stay, or may be to drop back a little. But if he loses his hold, it is not for long, and he soon makes this higher level the starting point for new excursions."

Uncle Sam had seen people in all walks of life whose goal did not extend beyond the shoals, and he had noticed that they universally lacked interest in their occupation. He knew that it was the nature of the soul to lose interest in its efforts while swimming in shallow creeks when one should be swimming in swift and wide rivers. He said: "James knows that he is swimming in water where he can at any time and without much effort put his toes on the bottom, and that is not what his life inherently desires." Uncle Sam repeated the words of Sir William Temple: "A man that only translates shall never be a poet; nor a painter that only copies; nor a swimmer that always swims with bladders." He decided that the gravel on the shoals and

James's toes must be separated. He knew, of course, that James would lose his life in the shallow water unless he saved it in the deep water, but he believed that James was making natural detours, and that with proper assistance and encouragement he would become a real American swimmer. He quoted the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes: "I find the great thing in this world is not so much where we stand, as in what direction we are moving." Uncle Sam believed that James was headed in the right direction.

Uncle Sam said that imagination, the spirit of adventure, deeper water, and responsibility were necessary in order for one to become a great swimmer. He told James about many great men who were great swimmers; how they had commenced in the same way he had, and why it was necessary for him to swim in deep water. He swam far out into the deep water himself and told James that it was much finer out there than in the shoals. He said that there were thousands of citizens who were dabbling in the shoals because they were taught by people who could not swim themselves. James's life was running over with interest and enthusiasm. He could hardly wait for the time to come when he should swim in the deep

water. He told his sister that he was going to be a great swimmer some day, and that he might even swim the English Channel. Uncle Sam said that James had a real imagination. He quoted the words of Dugald Stewart: "The faculty of imagination is the great spring of human activity, and the principal source of human improvement. As it delights in presenting to the mind scenes and characters more perfect than those which we are acquainted with, it prevents us from ever being completely satisfied with our present condition, or with our past attainments, and engages us continually in the pursuit of some untried enjoyment, or of some ideal excellence. Destroy this faculty, and the condition of man will become as stationary as that of the brutes."

Uncle Sam insisted that no swimmer would ever swim the English Channel in the future unless he swam it in the present, and that if James should swim the English Channel in the future, he would then want to swim across a still larger body of water. He said that this is the nature of the soul, of religion, of real education, of Democracy, and of all worthy things. He said that none of these would succeed unless they had the more

abundant goal and made detours when detours were principles. He quoted Colton: "Men may have the gifts both of talent and of wit, but unless they have also prudence and judgment to dictate when, where, and how those gifts are to be exerted, the possessors of them will conquer only where nothing is to be gained, and be defeated where everything is to be lost; they will be outdone by men of less brilliant but more convertible qualifications, and whose strength, in the point, is not counterbalanced by any disproportion in another."

James commenced swimming in small circles over the deep water, extending the area of the circles with each effort. He said that it was easier to swim in deep water than it was in the shallow water, and that when he swam in the deep water he could always hear it saying to him that it was over his head, but that it would hold him up and help him in becoming a great swimmer, if he would hold himself up and try to be a great swimmer. He said that when he was swimming in the shallow water it was always telling him to put his toes on the bottom. James increased his speed and the area of his circles rapidly. Uncle Sam said that James was making won-

derful progress and that he was going forward even while swimming in circles, and then he quoted words of Goethe: "Progress has not followed a straight ascending line, but a spiral rhythm of progress and retrogression of evolution and dissolution."

Nature was evidently pushing James forward, for he did not like the idea of starting at a given point and returning to the same place each time. He said that this was not going anywhere and that he wanted to get somewhere, even if he had to go forward by making detours and swimming in curves. James declared: "I am going to swim this deep and wide lake." Uncle Sam was delighted and told James that this is what the great leaders of freedom did when they signed the Declaration of Independence. He quoted the words of Colton: "In all governments, there must of necessity be both the law and sword; laws without arms would give us not liberty, but licentiousness; and arms without laws would produce not subjection, but slavery. The law, therefore, should be unto the sword what the handle is to the hatchet; it should direct the stroke and temper the force."

Uncle Sam said that when the people talked

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about the brotherhood of man, about the day when war would be abolished from the earth, they were really swimming in circles, but that they were getting closer to the heart of Democracy and universal peace each day. He emphasized that the brotherhood of man must be achieved in the human heart and that after it is accomplished, laws and swords would be necessary to maintain it. He said he believed that Coleridge was right when he wrote: "As there is much beast and some devil in man, so there is some angel and some God in him. The beast and devil may be conquered, but in this life never wholly destroyed." He believed that an international agreement in the interest of universal peace with the countries of the world would hasten the brotherhood of man and finally abolish war from the world. He said, however, that in order for America to reach this goal, it would be necessary for it to put its emphasis upon the development of the spiritual empire rather than upon the empire of force. He emphasized that this must be largely accomplished through a system of education that will develop the body, mind, and heart of the people. He declared that universal education is the fundamental goal of Democracy.

Uncle Sam was glad that James wanted to swim the lake. He got a boat and told James he would go with him and be near him, but that he must remember that he would not swim the lake unless he depended upon himself and used in an effective way his talents and opportunities. He told James that if he should do anything for him that he could do for himself, it would injure his efforts to become an efficient swimmer. He assured him, however, that he would be swimming with him in sympathy and that he would help him if he really needed help. He said that a real American is a citizen who swims with every human being. He quoted the words of Beattie: "Let us cherish sympathy. It prepares the mind for receiving the impressions of virtue; and without it there can be no true politeness. Nothing is more odious than that insensibility which wraps a man up in himself and his own concerns and prevents him being moved with either the joys or the sorrows of another."

Uncle Sam and James started across the lake together. James was full of enthusiasm and thrills and swam better than he had at any time before. Uncle Sam was pleased with James because he had a goal to make, was will-

ing to work, had a faith in his ability to swim the lake, and depended upon himself. When far out in the lake James exclaimed, in the spirit of a rising faith: "I am going to swim the lake. I can feel my hands taking hold of the bank on the other side." Uncle Sam told the people that James had a wonderful faith and that no man had ever reached a worthy goal unless he had a worthy faith. He said that one of his expert ball players told him that he had never failed to catch a ball when he felt the ball in his hands and had the thrills that come from catching the ball while it was still in the air.

There was an island that prevented James from making a direct course across the lake. It was necessary for him to make a detour in order to reach his goal. Uncle Sam said that detours are sometimes necessary in the work of growing individuals and national life. He told about the many compromises it was necessary for the great men of the Constitutional Convention to make before they succeeded in submitting the American Constitution to the states for their ratification. He said that this was done in a few cases by overlooking principles, but that the great goal they reached justified all the detours they

made. He emphasized, however, that detours which clashed with principles could not be justified, unless they saved and advanced humanity and liberty, and that even then they would become seeds of future strife. He said that when the American Constitutional Convention recognized slavery, it made a detour, from the viewpoint of individual freedom, contrary to the principles and ideals of America, but in doing this it made possible the United States of America. He said that when Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, he made a detour contrary to the fundamental law of the land, but that it was done in the interest of human freedom. He emphasized that one of these detours gave us the Union and the other saved it. He said that it would be as easy for James to swim across an island as it would be for him to advance America contrary to the desires and the opinions of his people. He believed that it would be better for him to take thirty years to reach a goal and to have the majority of the people with him when he reached it than it would be to reach it in five years and not have the people with him when he reached it. James swam the lake and declared that he could swim it two times without stopping. He

wanted to swim a larger body of water. His goal was still beyond. Uncle Sam said that Democracy's goal is still beyond.

Life without a goal is like a ship at sea without a compass and without a port to make. Every time life moves forward and upward, the goal of life moves forward and upward. Democracy's success in reaching a worthy goal depends upon the success of the people in reaching a worthy goal. What helps the people helps Democracy, and what helps Democracy helps the people. Neither can realize and possess the democratic goal of life in the same way as we would construct and possess a wooden box. One is spiritual; the other is material. One is always in the future; the other may be realized in the present. One is made in a carpenter's shop and the other in the soul. One is standardized and capable of immediate interpretation; the other is an ideal that is ahead of us and travels as fast as we do, requiring advancing standards, new interpretations, and democratic detours. If life should overtake its goal, it would be like a stagnant and diseased river, full of poison and pollution. "Man can never come up to his ideal standard — it is the nature of the immortal spirit to raise that standard higher and

higher as it goes from strength to strength, still upward and onward." The real goal of the soul and of Democracy is the more abundant life.

CHAPTER XXII

HILLTOP EPIGRAMS AND PARAGRAPHS

If we want ideas, we must fish where we can get them.

Human souls are blown to the sea by the winds of the spirit.

If a citizen in a community is down, a part of the community is down.

Killing a fly sometimes saves the life of a child.

Ignorance is always crowded. The ignorant man is at all times tramping on the heels of an ignorant man, his own.

Turn the human gun on the knocker and fire progressive ideas at him.

Providence is not to be blamed, if we should carry our coffins in our spirits.

There are citizens who seem to prefer to use bean poles and rotten lines, and yank for bone-heads.

Democracy's idealization of education is the result of the law of self-preservation.

The value of a citizen is measured in the terms of thinking and acting.

If our motives are not vitalized with service, our deeds will not interpret Democracy.

The democratized school creates winds that blow souls seeking an education into its own doors.

The fisherman has a better appetite and digestion and more spiritual and economic life when he angles for his fish.

A citizen of Democracy is a dipper to be used in pouring spiritual and economical thrift into the community.

The angler who uses one rod will catch more fish than one who uses two or more.

Democracy values a good citizen for the same reason that the heart desires good digestion and red blood.

We take care of our government by taking care of ourselves, and by helping others.

A good democrat is one who loves his country more than his party, and his party more than his job.

The real test of the patriotism of the rich man can be determined by his efforts to enlist his pocket book for his country.

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The spiritual and material community will mount high through self-regeneration.

Good churches, schools, and roads are fundamental necessities to economic and social efficiency.

The magical powers of progress are constructive brains and sound consciences.

The public road that runs through a political jockey alley is almost certain to be low in the middle and full of holes.

When real education enters a school, real money enters the bank.

Our country will not spend too much money for education when every dollar expended produces a dollar's worth of Democracy.

It is the duty of every American to plant more, produce more, save more, and give more.

No man can make too much money if he keeps in mind what he owes his country and meets his obligations punctually.

Old Glory unfurls its sacred folds to the liberty winds when the fisherman of the great sea makes a large catch.

Education is interested in everything that Democracy needs, and Democracy is interested in everything that education needs.

The average community needs more limestone and less political brimstone.

A citizen who is not as free as the mountain air is not likely to reach the mountain top.

Human growth will cease when the people rely on the government for happiness and prosperity.

Every product of the hand has a dual existence. It is first produced in the mind and then in the outward world.

It is not formal organization that is most vital in the development of Democracy, but the life that produces organization.

The citizen who sits in front of America's fireplace, enjoys its fires, eats its roasted apples, and criticizes America should move to Russia or somewhere else.

Any community that is good enough to live in is good enough to fight for, and any citizen who is not willing to do this should move out of the community.

The mudhole in the middle of the road that has been traveled for months by the teacher and the pupils of the school is a bold challenge to the work of the school.

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The best administered government is one that governs the masses by aiding the individual in governing himself.

The development of Democracy depends more than anything else upon the training of the rural children, most of whom will become tillers of the soil and makers of homes, the basis of all wealth and progress.

It is not necessary to sink a fleet in order to be a hero. It is not necessary to have a million dollars in order to be rich. Greatness depends upon character.

When the people know that they are getting good government and good service, they will not object to paying for good government and good service.

The normal human being is positive, never neutral in his desire to grow, to be free, to possess, and to interpret the unknown.

We can sharpen a pencil by putting it into a pencil sharpener and turning a crank, but we cannot make a citizen, a school, or a community in that way.

A free nation will never be greater than her citizens, her citizens will never be greater than her schools, and her schools will never be greater than her teachers.

Men are frequently slaves in chains. They are victims of devices, systems, and traditions riveted by human machines without their protest.

Good government depends upon preserving individuality while traveling through the pathless woods from the smaller life to the larger life.

The school and the community are tied together by the spiritual and economic laws of life. If the school lives, the community lives; if the school dies, the community dies.

It is hard for a citizen to have faith and effectiveness at a time when he realizes that he has a big responsibility and an inadequate preparation.

Democratic education is the only thing that will turn a small life into a larger life, a small business into a larger business, and dead communities into larger communities.

It is not the perfect ear of corn we admire so much as the glorified man in the ear of corn. We interpret the ear of corn and receive its blessings and benedictions, and then we seek the man who grew the ear of corn and learn his ways and ideas.

If all the people fished in political ponds instead of larger waters, we would have want and woe, anarchy and Bolshevism instead of plenty, freedom, and Democracy.

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I like to sit around my own mental hearthstone and hold communion with universal guests, that company of ideas that meet and mingle in the arena of my soul. I like to shake hands with them, talk with them, make friends of them, and challenge them.

The teacher is the transmitter through whom every dollar appropriated for education must be transmuted into life. If the transmitter is wrong, the child will not hear.

The people are not concerned about what one politician thinks about another so much as they are concerned about a government that will give every human being a square deal.

When the people understand that education reaches every item of life and advances every spiritual and industrial effort, they will cease to show any indifference about education and will advance it for the same reason that they read a good book or eat a wholesome meal.

The nation will have a new birth when the people experience self-discovery, assume the responsibility of American citizenship, and use their inexhaustible spiritual and material opportunities.

The red-blooded American who feels the current of freedom in his own life and stands like a sentinel on guard, ready to defend his country at any cost in time of peace and in time of war, is our first asset.

The real American recognizes the work of the school as one in the interest of the general welfare, and the schoolhouse becomes a "meeting place where the school and the community get together and consider things — things political, things social, things educational, and things industrial."

It is extremely dangerous, if not unwise, for public funds to reach a community ahead of authorized administrators who are qualified in vision, character, and mind to transmute them into efficient life.

It is a reflection upon the camera of the soul for it to be necessary to produce a moving picture from the scenes of one's daily environments and throw these scenes upon the material canvas at a picture show in order to create an interest in these scenes.

It gives me a thrill to feel that I have as much power with a few dollars in my pocket, in this country of civic consent, as the millionaire with a few millions in his pocket. When we enter the voting booth, Democracy equalizes our power.

A dead thing cannot produce a live thing. A dead school cannot, by ringing the bell and calling the people together, organize in one evening a live civic, social, and industrial center. Successful centers of school activity are founded upon human nature and must be grown.

The man who becomes prosperous in a community by taking advantage of its spiritual and material opportunities, but refuses to make just material contributions to its efforts to be a worthy community, is like the man with a pocketful of money who refuses to buy a ticket but sees a baseball game by looking through the crack of the high fence that encloses the athletic field.

Democratic government is a mirror in which we should see the people. Unfortunately, however, when we look into the mirror, we frequently cannot see the real people, because they are obscured by the politicians.

The democratized school is a great spirit that interferes with the boy at the minnow hole by offering him eyes that will enable him to see the sea and by prompting him to go to the sea with a self-propulsion to catch big life.

Wealth is a state of ideals rather than a state of the pocketbook. A person may have one dollar in his pocket and be a richer and better American than the man who has a million. This is true, even if it is difficult for some of us to believe it on bill day.

Whenever the school makes two ears of corn grow where one grew before, it must at the same time, if it would advance Democracy, make two ideals grow where one grew before. A democratic ideal has never had its beginning in a corn crib, unless the corn crib was born in an ideal.

Knowing that this is my country and that I am a joint owner, that I am in it and it is in me, establishes in my life a feeling of deep personal responsibility. Knowing that it is your country broadens my sympathies and responsibilities and emphasizes the importance of every human being. Knowing that it is our country develops a common interest, a spirit of unity, of brotherhood, of dependence and independence.

Saying nothing of spiritual values, the training of teachers for service and prompting trustees and boards of education to employ trained teachers is an economic proposition that no State can afford to ignore.

The greater community is coming in obedience to the law of Democracy, not through the mechanical assent of man to certain outward programs but through the ascent of man to the stature of the great teacher, to righteousness and intelligence.

There is a great difference between making a life and a living. I know a citizen who had four hundred acres of rich land who did neither. I know another citizen who had four hundred acres of land who made a living but not a life, and I know another who had ten acres of land who made both a life and a living.

We have too frequently removed the school from the people instead of taking it to them. We have made it remote rather than found it in our

lives. We have confined it within the walls of the schoolhouse instead of pushing it to the utmost limits of the community.

Occupation develops the citizen, and the citizen develops occupation, provided a healthy companionship has been formed through a spiritualization of occupation. It is natural for a feeling of degradation and inferiority to follow the efforts of a citizen who has not spiritualized his work.

I cannot see much difference in assassinating a man with a Winchester rifle and killing him with an old disease-breeding outhouse. I cannot see much difference in putting poison in your neighbor's cup of coffee and in throwing fecal matter containing the germs of death where they will get into your neighbor's drinking water.

Citizens who are not interested in the affairs of the government too often treat the competent and incompetent, the honest and dishonest public official in the same way. They usually regard both of them as dishonest. Honest public officials have frequently taken earnest steps with a view of serving their country, of building up the standards of living, to find in the end that they were helpless in accomplishing their ideals on account of not having the support of a constructive public sentiment.

The speculator who, in order to make a few more millions of dollars during the war, cornered

the market of foodstuffs of this country and through unscrupulous manipulation of the markets took food from starving mouths and endangered the fight for freedom, should in my opinion be treated by this government as a traitor and subjected to a court martial. I do not believe that the preacher in Washington was wrong when he said that men of this character should be shot at the base of Washington's monument.

The people too frequently think of education as something remote, something foreign to their own needs, something that concerns the other individual, the other home, the other community, and the other state. Education is the most personal thing in a free country, and the extent that people have failed to respond to its needs is measured by the failure of the school to become a positive factor in the social and industrial development of the community.

The rains that fall, the winds that blow, the lightnings and thunders incident to earthly conditions typify things that transpire within the zones of my own soul. My outlook upon life is dark and gloomy, or bright and radiant, in proportion as I look outward and downward and inward and upward.

There lived in the community of my early life a citizen who was an expert in the use of the sling. It is said that whenever he went hunting, his

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friends would count the number of stones in the pouch, and when he returned, would count the number remaining unused and in this way determine the number of squirrels he had killed. Whenever the community has this kind of confidence in a leader, it will rally behind him and assist him in his work.

The schools assist in solving the economic and social problems of the home and of the state by increasing the productive capacity of the people and by developing a citizenship whose good behavior will reduce waste to a minimum. The community that does not have a good school because it thinks it is too poor to have a good school must learn that the reason it is too poor to have a good school is because it does not have a good school. The community that refuses to make material contributions and to vote a just tax for the support of the school is, under the law of economic progress, a pauper.

Society has been kind to me. It stood by my side when I was a helpless little piece of spirit and flesh and protected me, but the greatest blessing it ever bestowed upon me was a Christian home during my childhood days where honor ruled and industry, obedience, virtue, and service were crowned through the influence of a noble father and a loving mother who believed and taught by precept and example that the hope of a free people depended largely upon their homes.

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In the sense I speak, the greatest political party that has ever been conceived by the thought of man is the public school system. Its mission makes it an organic part of political life. If properly administered, it will advance the principles and ideals of freedom and never be in accord with civic corruption.

Democracy has its own way of doing things, and it is the best way. We have been thinking, however, that it would be a good thing if it were possible to segregate all of the germs of preventable diseases and all of the idlers, knockers, and gossipers on a lonely island and let the battle go on between them. It has been ordained, however, that they shall be consumed by the gradual fires of Democracy.

It has been intensely interesting to watch the boy of the corn club go behind his one acre of corn and assume the responsibility of preparing the soil, selecting the seed corn, and at the same time challenging the world to a contest for the largest yield. This responsibility makes him a leader, creates the power of initiative, and makes him an important citizen in the life of a community. He is so busily engaged that he forgets to be an idler or even a bad boy.

Any citizen who tries to improve the spiritual and economic affairs of a country by withholding support from better homes, better teachers, better schools, better health, better agriculture, better

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roads, and all other things that make a productive citizenship, proceeds on the theory that the way to improve a house is to tear it down, that the way to improve the life and business of a community is to cut off the currents of life.

Before I was old enough to be trusted to load a gun, my father would give me a loaded single-barrel gun and allow me to go to the woods to kill a squirrel. The squirrels did not take me seriously, because they knew I was a poor marksman and had only one load. After my using the load without getting game, the squirrels would come near me and say: "Go home, get a supply of good ammunition, learn to load the gun and how to shoot, and then we will keep out of your way and have some respect for you." There are a great many squirrel hunters of this kind in this country who call themselves teachers and leaders.

The country is full of examples showing that the school that gets into the life of the people and helps them to solve their social and industrial problems is about the most contagious thing in a democratic community. Give the people through the schools more life, and they will have more money and will support the school with more life and more money. The failure of the people to understand the material value of education is one of the greatest barriers that confronts the work of educating the masses. Education pays two dividends, one in an improved citizenship and one in material dividends.

The successful angler values nature. He will avoid trying to force the large game fish to accept his ways, until it shows an inclination to be led. The fish that does not have its own way some of the time is not worth catching, and the angler who does not have his way some of the time is a poor fisherman. The angler who does not understand this will not succeed in leading a community.

We must have a vision of the future, and if we would avoid mistakes, we must be able to hear the conversation and conclusions of a group of brainy and patriotic citizens when they talk about our achievements five hundred or a thousand years from now. When considered in the terms of democratic principles, whatever is right in a Democracy today will be right in the future. Methods and programs change, but principles are as enduring as eternity itself.

The school is a pioneer that reaches the industrial world through the world of mind. The efficient school precedes thinking capacity, thinking capacity precedes earning capacity, and earning capacity precedes industrial thrift. Human thought is the ticker that tells what every inch of property is worth. Extend the vision of the mind, and you broaden the fields of commerce; build up the efficiency of the school, and you quicken industrial life. Educated citizens and a sane commerce travel together. A poverty of schools makes a treacherous commerce.

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It is true that efforts to promote public business are frequently the victims of fixed customs, of selfishness, of neighborhood factions, of partisan and depraved politics, and of many other things that make it difficult for a worthy public servant to accomplish constructive work. This state of affairs has, without doubt, crippled efficiency, cost Democracy millions and millions of dollars, and made the execution of public work extremely difficult and discouraging.

All of the enemies of this country are not millionaires. They can be found in the shop, on the farm, and in every other endeavor of life. I know a citizen who has an elegant home with modern equipment, five hundred acres of as rich land as can be found in this country, ten or twelve thousand dollars worth of fine stock, great crops, and other things all paid for. His barn is worth three or four times the value of the country schoolhouse. He has concern about the condition of his cattle and the amount he will get out of them but refuses to vote for a small public-school tax to help educate the children of his community. He puts his barn above the schoolhouse and his cattle above the children. He puts his bank account above his flag.

Universal progress begins and ends with the soil. Improved agriculture is a fundamental proposition and one of monumental importance to every citizen in the nation. The development of our country depends largely upon the success of the farmer,

the most important citizen in the land. I believe in every sane and democratic effort in the interest of rural uplift and in a policy that will aid in the dissemination of agricultural information among the masses, in increasing the productive capacity of the people, and in establishing coöperative markets for the products of their labor. Most of America needs more waving wheat and alfalfa fields and fewer wavering politicians. Intelligent agriculture is the only thing that will put small agriculture out of business.

Indeed, America is a land of optimism. The golden gates of opportunity swing wide open. It is a land of milk and honey, but we shall never get the milk until we have men who can do the milking, and we shall never get the honey until we have human bees to make it. Our unworked and undeveloped spiritual and industrial fields are calling for men of brain, brawn, and character who are willing to make a trial of leadership. We should not forget that the responsibility of ownership falls heavily upon us, and that our children are entitled to their share of the wealth of our fields, hills, and mountains, and to an opportunity to become leaders and workers in the social and industrial fields. There are American boys of the finest human stock who are unable to read and write, who may be in need of the comforts of life, and who are today working in great coal mines, in industrial plants, and on great farms that were formerly owned by their fathers. The only way

we can give the child a square industrial deal is to give him a square educational deal, and the only way we can give him a square educational deal is to support a system of education that will reach every child in the land.

Democracy salutes the little schoolhouse on the hill as the temple of liberty. It salutes the real teacher who rings the bell and calls the children to books as a nobleman who gives his life for his country. It salutes the layman who goes behind the school as a hero in time of peace, who plants the American flag upon the hills of liberty. Democracy calls for more life. Education seeks to create more. Let us then resolve to have a type of education that will enable the people to keep step with the onward march of Democracy.

We shall never stop the leak that flows from the school fund until the educational conscience is awakened and the people share a larger responsibility for good schools; until parents cease to keep their children out of school without legitimate reasons; until they regard the selection of the school trustee of as much as or more importance to the community than the selection of a governor; until we develop a strong, stable teaching profession, pay better salaries, and require better teachers, demand better service, and appreciate better service, and until the school is removed from personal, from neighborhood, from sectarian, from all forms of politics.

I knew the mortal body that was buried in this grave. It was the home of a great soul. But the spirit took its flight without knowing its own powers. This grave marks the last resting place of a citizen who was intended by God to be free, but he died a slave without having lived in the sunlight of inspired thought. It was intended that the universe only should be the boundary of his activity and influence, but he constructed a prison that confined him and impoverished his usefulness. If society had knocked at the door of his soul in early life by offering him real education, he would have been one of the great citizens of this land.

The most vital question before the country is one looking toward rural improvement and efficiency. We have a gigantic rural inheritance and opportunity. We have the climate, the showers, the sunshine, the soil, and the people, but we are not producing and living enough. Many of our farm homes are in need of the necessities of life and modern equipment and improvement. Many of our noble women are subjected to biting hardships, and the children are deprived of educational advantages that will prepare them for their chosen work. The remedy is in a system of education that will reach everybody and improve these conditions.

A burglar stood between two homes during the late hours of the night. The inhabitants of each were sound asleep. The doors and windows of one

of the houses were locked and bolted, and the head of the household slept with a big pistol under his pillow. The doors and windows of the other were open, and the head of the household had no weapon. The burglar said that he entered the locked and protected home because it called him a dirty thief and threatened his life, while the other expressed a confidence in humanity, even in a burglar. The thing that made him enter the protected home is the handle the real leader uses in moving a community.

Community growth can be advanced by prompting the people to secure good books, magazines, and helpful literature of all kinds and by influencing them to develop a reading and thinking habit; by encouraging public meetings designed to stimulate community ideals, coöperation, and thrift; by fostering the home, the greatest influence in a Democracy, protecting it through legislation, and aiding in its efforts to have efficiency; by making the community strong in patriotic life, in its respect for law, and for the rule of honor, and so free from sectarian bias and bigotry that it will be an ideal soil for the growth of American citizens.

The citizen is the dynamo that turns the wheels of progress and determines the conduct of the government. Nothing has ever been accomplished by human hands in the outward world that did not begin in some human being. That bridge was

burned by the incendiary before the blaze was witnessed by the physical eye. That restaurant was blown up before the dynamite was placed under the building. That citizen was shot before the report of the gun was heard by the physical ear. That ballot box was mutilated before the voter entered the booth. I am emphasizing that the community's house will be in bad order until the soul's house is put in order by Christian education.

There are many educational leaders and teachers who are giving every inch of their lives and physical strength to the work of educating the masses, who realize that before teachers can succeed in the great work of leading the people they must be free themselves, and that in order to enjoy professional freedom they must experience an intellectual and professional baptism. They believe that Democracy should demand better-paid and better-educated teachers, teachers who wear the whole professional helmet. They believe that every child is entitled to a qualified teacher, and that the professional deadwood should be consumed by the flames of public sentiment and by the fire of the teaching profession. These teachers, however, have a right to expect that, if they concentrate and consecrate their lives upon the altars of service and make liberal expenditures of time and money for preparation, the citizenship of our country will recognize the work of a true teacher in a free government and will show its appreciation

by offering him an opportunity to prepare for his chosen work by paying salaries in keeping with the expense of preparation and the cost of proper living.

Democracy sees the world no longer as a divided fragment — a disconnected series of spheres, but as a single world, as a single sphere, in which there is no higher or lower. The citizen pursuing any honorable endeavor who has the power of self-control and is a master of his task, is in America our sole aristocrat.

Democracy looks within before writing an epitaph. It appeared on the deck of the Olympia, saluted Dewey, declared to the world that without him there would have been no Manila victory. It did not stop there. It went down into the hold of the Olympia, saluted John Whitaker, who in a temperature of 130 degrees, shoveled coal into the engine; and then came back on the deck and announced to the world that without John Whitaker, too, there would not have been a Manila victory. That is democracy. It exalts learning, piety, and service.

The school system exists for no other purpose except to make good citizens. The work of making men, of transmuting dollars into life, into ideals, into freedom, of giving them wings, and making them messengers of peace, is the greatest work delegated to the hands of men. The school system

is a patriotic organization that seeks to make men. A better citizenship is its creed. This makes its work universal, establishing a common ground upon which all can unite in the interest of efficiency.

When the teachers stop discrediting their own profession by incompetency, by apologizing for being teachers, by acting as hirelings, instead of servants of Democracy, the public school will cease to be treated indifferently and the teaching profession will rise to that dignity and exert that influence that will command the respect of the people. I walked up to a leading educator recently and said: "You are nothing but a teacher, just a teacher. You can't do anything except teach a little and you can't do that very well. Your services are not needed outside of the schoolroom, because you are nothing more than a teacher. You somehow look to me like a kind of 'Impersonal It.'" In speaking to my friend in this way, I fear I was illustrating what sometimes seems to be the attitude of the public mind toward the average teacher. I have never apologized for being a teacher. The privilege of being a teacher is enough honor for a lifetime. If the profession will forgive me for the feeble efforts I have made, I will try to do better. Yet I fully appreciate that I can never contribute as much honor to the teaching profession as this noble and beautiful professional life has contributed to me in permitting me to enter

its wide domain of opportunity and service. I have, however, gone far enough into the teaching profession to regard the teacher who does not make a reasonable effort to exalt the thought of teaching in his own life and who is ashamed to own that he is a teacher, as a professional hypocrite, a traitor to a cause that is as high as heaven.

It is our duty to sanctify this great hill by hard study; by expressing its harmony, its order, its articulation, its saneness, and its stateliness in our lives; by seeing to it that its nobility is not marred by a single mark or desecrated in any other way; by making the beautiful sunrises and sunsets which we shall witness from this hill, the rising of a soul in a world of promise and opportunity and the setting of a soul amidst the splendors of a life well lived; and by making this beautiful physical panorama that we shall witness from this hill-top and from classroom windows a spiritual panorama to be transmuted into life, and, finally, through a patriotic use of things spiritual and things material, unlock the door that confines an imprisoned self and allow a new and greater citizen to step forth — a blessing to man, a servant of God.



